

SEPTEMBER 19, 2005

# IN THESE TIMES

DEPLETED URANIUM TAKES A TOLL • 6

REP. JAN SCHAKOWSKY'S DOS AND DON'TS • 15

WOES OF WIND POWER • 30

OSCAR WILDE'S SECOND COMING OUT • 40

# EXITING Iraq

TOPPLING THE PILLARS OF WAR BY TOM HAYDEN

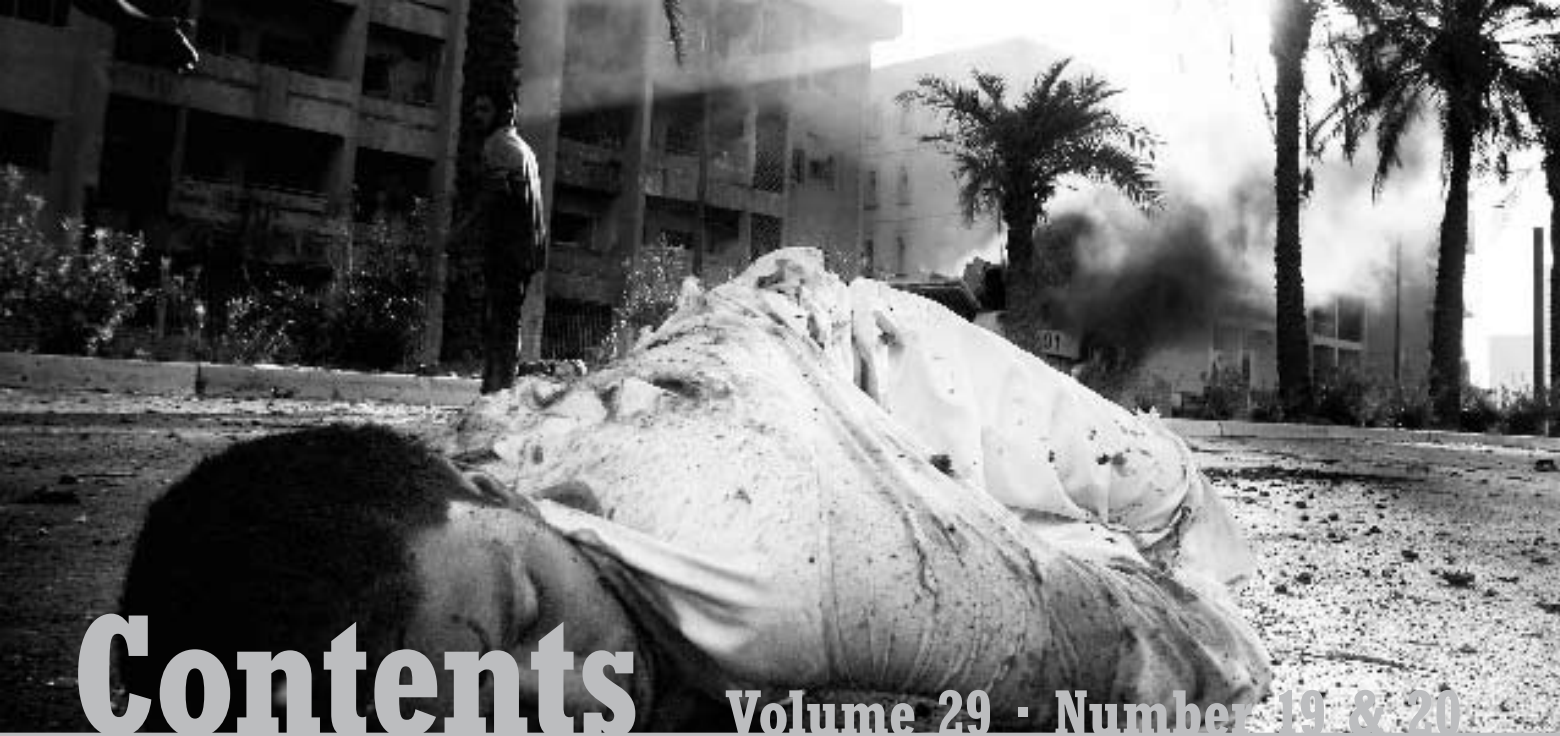
BEYOND THE VIETNAM SYNDROME BY NORMAN SOLOMON

IRAQ'S CONSTITUTIONAL CHAOS BY MARK LEVINE

\$2.95 USA \$4.50 CANADA



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# Contents

## Volume 29 - Number 19 & 20

### Exiting Iraq By Tom Hayden

**16** As the Pentagon's pillars crumble, the peace movement's moment arrives.

### Echoes of Oslo By Mark LeVine

**20** Iraq's new constitution won't change lives unless the conditions of the occupation change with it.

### Beyond the Vietnam Syndrome By Norman Solomon

**22** Why presidents keep trying to get us to kick a habit that doesn't exist.

### All Apart Now By David Moberg

**26** The AFL-CIO split sheds solidarity in favor of a new relevance. It had better work.

### China's Press Crackdown By Jehangir S. Pocha

**28** Conventional wisdom says freer markets bring greater freedom. Not in China.

### Shooting Down the Breeze By Mischa Gaus

**30** Wind power has been impeded by wildlife protection scandals and a lack of public trust.

**12 Viewpoint** By Roberto Lovato  
What would DuBois do?

**13 Capitol Report** By Craig Aaron  
Summer, sand and spectrum policy.

**14 Back Talk** By Susan J. Douglas  
The media lose their nose rings.

**15 House Call**  
By Rep. Jan Schakowsky  
Progressive dos and don'ts.

**6 Radioactive War Wounds**  
By Dave Lindorff

Tests on returning troops suggest serious health consequences from depleted uranium use in Iraq.

**8 Official Hate** By Andrew Stelzer  
In Florida, anti-gay political rhetoric and hate crimes are on the rise.

**10 Dueling Dynasties** By Ethan Michaeli  
As Chicago Mayor Richard Daley stumbles, Jesse Jackson Jr. goes on the offensive.

**11 In Person** By Andrew Stetzer  
Samar Damash-Jarrah brokers a dialogue between the two cultures she calls home.

Cover by Rachel Jefferson

**32 • The History of a Bad Idea**  
By Bill Stamets

**BOOKS** Dave Roediger examines "whiteness" and its unsavory implications.

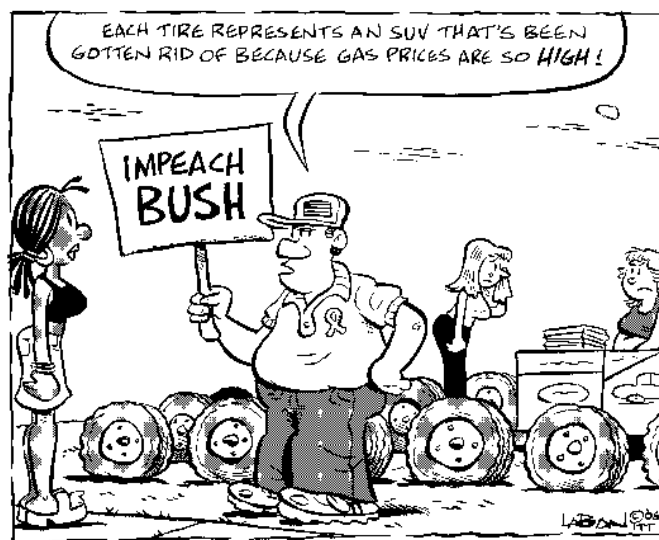
**34 • The Secret History** By Aaron Sarver  
**BOOKS** Howard Zinn hears *Voices*.

**40 • Wilde's Second Coming Out**  
By Doug Ireland

**BOOKS** Oscar Wilde—novelist, poet, playwright, socialist and gay liberationist.

“The affluent society has now demonstrated that it is a society at war; if its citizens have not noticed it, its victims certainly have.”

HERBERT MARCUSE  
FROM THE “POLITICAL PREFACE, 1966”  
TO *EROS AND CIVILIZATION*



# Editorial

## End It Already By Joel Bleifuss

Here is the question to the parents of American service men and women that the Bush administration never thought to pose, much less

answer: Is the war in Iraq worth the life of your son or daughter?

“No,” was the answer Cindy Sheehan gave on August 6 as she walked down the road in Crawford, Texas, to Bush’s country estate. Her son Casey<sup>24</sup>, was killed in April 2004, within days of his arrival in Iraq.

By taking a public stand, Sheehan is playing the historic role of women in time of war. She has become an emblem of the sacrifice made by the mothers, wives and daughters who lose family members in battle. But unlike the Spartan mother, she did not tell her son: “Return from Iraq victorious or dead.” Instead, she used her loss to make Americans pause to consider whether the deaths of Casey and his fellow soldiers—as *In These Times* went to press<sup>1,852</sup> and counting—has been worth it. In essence, she broke through the media’s monotonous recitation of daily deaths to put a human face on the tragedy.

Lt. Col. Dave Grossman writes in his book, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*:

It is so much easier to kill someone if they look distinctly different than you. If your propaganda machine can convince your

soldiers that their opponents are not really human but are “inferior forms of life,” then their natural resistance to killing their own species will be reduced.

While his statement relates in obvious ways to the demon “terrorists” with whom we are at war, it applies more subtly to all victims of the war in Iraq—a war for which the administration’s propaganda machine has established numerous rules on what can and cannot be shown. For example, photographing wounded soldiers has been effectively prohibited. Standing between the American public and the war’s grim reality are the news organizations that, in exchange for embedded status, have accepted White House rules for journalistic engagement. In effect the major media organizations are telling soldiers: Showing your blood and toil is less important than securing our front-row seats on the battlefield.

The administration realizes the threat Sheehan poses. In the ‘60s, public sentiment against the Vietnam war began to turn when millions of Americans began to question whether the war’s human costs, of which they had an unimpeded—rather than embedded—view, were worth it.

Consequently, it’s no surprise that Sheehan has been roundly attacked by Bush administration proxies. Ann Coulter accused Sheehan of “engaging in Stalinist agitprop.” Rush Limbaugh described Sheehan and her supporters as “a bunch of miserable, angry people exploiting death.” Falsehood and distortion are their stock and trade.

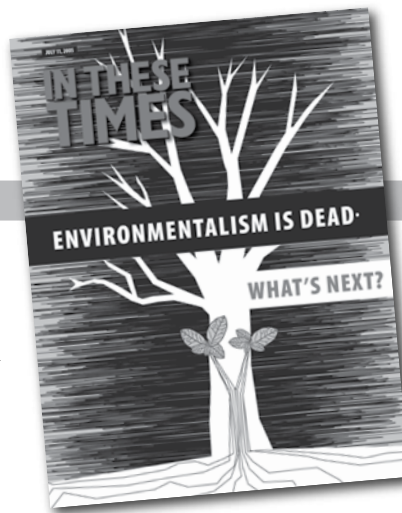
Before he was promoted to the job of *New York Times* executive editor, Bill Keller had this to say about the so-called “intelligence failures” on Iraq: “The truth is that the information-gathering machine designed to guide our leaders in matters of war and peace shows signs of being corrupted. To my mind, this is a worrisome problem, but not because it invalidates the war we won [sic]. It is a problem because it weakens us for the wars we still face.”

Not quite. What weakens us is a media that aids and abets such corruption by failing to hold leaders responsible for their lies, a media that is unwilling to provide an honest portrayal of all that the war has cost us.

At the recent National Conference for Media Reform, Bill Moyers said, “A free press is one where it’s OK to state the conclusion you’re led to by the evidence.”

And at the moment, all evidence points to the fact that the war in Iraq, with its horrendous cost of human life, has been a tragic mistake.

It’s time to end the war. ■



## Right on Target

Finally, someone has come forward and admitted it! Your environmental package: “Environmentalism Is Dead: What’s Next?” deconstructing the massive failings of the modern environmental movement is right on target (July <sup>11</sup>). While the causes championed by environmentalism seem obvious and pressing to me, I am still at a loss to find any mention of its issues or proposed solutions in the mass media, or any substantial inroads by activists into my local community.

There are two central, intertwined shortcomings of the movement and of progressives in general:

First, any successful reform movement needs a charismatic, engaging, knowledgeable, confrontational, when needed, nationally known leader. Has there been such a person at the head of the environmental cause in decades? Ask anyone on the street if they can name a prominent champion of the environment, past or present, and most will be at a total loss. The few names that do rarely come up are dated: Rachel Carson or, God help us, Al Gore. Unless the movement can reinvent itself quickly with a united, national voice, we may find ourselves relics of activist history.

Second, every locality and every family is personally affected in some way by environmental degradation. However, a huge disconnect exists between the terminology used to describe “national issues” and the everyday concerns of most people. Environmental messages must have a locally relevant component and whenever possible, be delivered

in person. Why not have activists partner with local scientists, university professors and high school science teachers? These are the people likely to have knowledge of the local environmental layout, local concerns and where regional or national problems fit. In other words, the message should be tailored for maximum impact and appeal.

As Teague and Werbach so rightly point out, the ecological interconnectedness of the environment and those living in it is often missing from the message. Perhaps we should model a new environmental movement on this ecosystem reality: the inseparable intertwining of local and national. Neither can survive without the other.

*Dana Longley  
Fort Edward, N.Y.*

## Misplaced Blame

Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus are certainly to be congratulated for goading left social movements into rethinking tactics and strategy (“Global Warming Politics in a Post-Environmental World,” July <sup>11</sup>). They are certainly right; moreover, that the left needs more discussion of broad vision and values.

It does not help such efforts, however, to adopt an accusatory tone and to stereotype movements and even generations. Why is it necessary, for example, to assert that “baby boomers bear the lion’s share of responsibility for the dearth of leadership in the environmental movement”?

Nor is it helpful to movement building to claim that contemporary left organizations focus

too narrowly on single issues, at least not without providing evidence. Consider women’s organizations. Shellenberger and Nordhaus claim that women’s organizations focus only on abortion. In the wake of the March for Women’s Lives of 2004—which articulated a broad agenda not only of reproductive rights, but also of anti-racism and anti-poverty—how can they make this claim? While deriding feminists for failing to win wages for housework, Shellenberger and Nordhaus fail to note that opposition to policies that force single mothers into “work activities” to receive public assistance has come almost entirely from feminist-minded organizations.

Women’s organizations have been concerned with attacks on reproductive rights in far broader ways than only threats to abortion access. For example, in recent months feminists have conducted campaigns to protest pharmacists who, contrary to the law, refuse to fill prescriptions for contraception.

There is no question that left organizations need more energy and coalition building today. Hurling blame for the perceived failures that relies on false images of what groups do is not the way to accomplish this.

*Iris Young  
Professor of Political Science  
University of Chicago*

## ADAM WERBACH RESPONDS:

One of the stranger consequences of writing an article for *In These Times* on the death of environmentalism is the number of people who contacted me to tell me that they weren’t really dead. I pointed out to the callers that dead people don’t normally make a habit of calling me at home late in the evening on a Sunday, and thus I fully agreed with them. Yet underneath this existential need for recognition of life lies a misreading of my pronouncement of death for the environmental movement. It is not contradictory to say that the environmental movement is dead while environmentalists are alive and well. In fact the individual environmentalists, organized into local groups—whether they be Sierra Club chapters, urban gardeners, or mothers organized against toxic trespass—have boldly held back the advancing conservative hordes.

While some people look at all of this incredible local activity and see a mesh-network movement, I see hard-working activists being let down by funders and D.C.-based national organizations that have not worked to apply the core lesson of environmentalism: interconnectedness. I’m proud of organizations like the Sierra Club that are building alliances with labor unions and recommitting to grassroots activism, but there’s a long way to go.

One point that I do wish to clarify, however, is that all is not lost when it comes to the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. While the Senate was able to hide the drilling



provision in the federal budget bill (which is not open to filibuster) there is still a chance to stop it from going through in the budget reconciliation in September. You can do your part at [www.articrefugeaction.org](http://www.articrefugeaction.org).

## Zip Clues

The stranglehold that class exerts on outcomes is arguably most evident in education ("Class Consciousness Matters" July 11). Scores on standardized tests are so tightly linked to socioeconomic factors, for example, that zip codes are notoriously reliable predictors of student performance.

That's why it makes little sense to look to schools alone to narrow the persistent achievement gap. The most highly qualified teachers can not compensate for the huge deficits that poor children already have by the time they enter kindergarten, and which continue to grow with each successive year.

Until we disabuse ourselves of the notion of self-reliance as panacea and address the fundamental causes of this blight by focusing on factors beyond the classroom, these travesties will continue. Social class may not be destiny, but it is the closest determinant.

Walt Gardner  
Los Angeles

## Fat Fight

I agree with the primary premise of Mark Winne's "Battling Big Cola" on the importance of getting corn-syrup-based carbonated beverages out of schools (July 11). Soda is unhealthy, and schools should model and teach healthy eating.

However, they, and we, should also be fostering body acceptance and appreciation for the wide range of beautiful bodies in the world. When Winne couches his concerns in terms of "the obesity epidemic," he perpetuates myths and stigmas about fat people, whether he means to or not. Fat is not the problem. Oppression and misinformation are. Eating disorders and self-hatred are. Statistics about weight are about numbers, not

people.

When fat people are stigmatized, we are less likely to treat ourselves well. When fat people get glared at in the gym, we're less likely to go. Meanwhile, corporations use stick-thin images to sell, sell, and the evil diet industry makes billions off of people desperate to fit a thin ideal. To fight harassment, inaccessible spaces, and self-hatred, we on the left must recognize the crucial differentiation between weight and health. When we mean we want people to be healthy, we must say we want people to be healthy and not rely on that scary word: fat.

Alex Gino  
Astoria, N.Y.

## A Note to Our Readers

As we announced in June, and as you may have noticed, *In These Times* has been publishing at a reduced frequency this summer. We will continue doing so for the foreseeable future, while providing an expanded magazine—like the one you are holding in your hand—with a wider variety of stories and more in-depth articles.

In the meantime, we are working to consolidate our financial situation and revitalize our fundraising operations. *In These Times* depends on reader donations to publish, and we extend our heartfelt thanks to the many members of the *In These Times* community whose contributions have helped us through another summer.

Tracy Van Slyke, Publisher  
Joel Bleifuss, Editor

## HOW TO REACH US

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We encourage letters to the editor, and reserve the right to edit them for clarity, grammar and length. Send them to: 2040 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60647.

PHONE (773) 772-0100

### SUBMISSIONS

Writers may submit articles at [www.inthesetimes.com/submissions](http://www.inthesetimes.com/submissions). Please review the writer's guidelines posted on our Web site.

### SPECIAL REQUESTS

To inquire about lost or damaged issues, back issues and classroom subscriptions, please contact Aaron Sarver at [sarver@inthesetimes.com](mailto:sarver@inthesetimes.com).

### SUBSCRIPTION QUESTIONS

To renew your subscription or change your address, please call 1-800-827-0270.

### ADVERTISING

To advertise or to request a media kit, please contact Emily Udell at extension 240.

# IN THESE TIMES

"With liberty and justice for all..."

FOUNDING EDITOR AND PUBLISHER  
James Weinstein (1926-2005)

EDITOR Joel Bleifuss  
SENIOR EDITORS Craig Aaron, Patricia Aufderheide, Susan J. Douglas, David Moberg, Dave Mulcahey, Salim Muwakkil, David Sirota, Kurt Vonnegut  
MANAGING EDITOR Jessica Clark  
ASSOCIATE EDITOR Brian Cook  
ASSISTANT EDITOR Phoebe Connelly  
EDITOR-AT-LARGE Sheryl Larson  
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS Terry J. Allen, Dean Baker, Frida Berrigan, Will Boisvert, Phyllis Eckhaus, Barbara Ehrenreich, Annette Fuentes, Juan Gonzalez, Miles Harvey, Christopher Hayes, Paul Hockenok, George Hodak, Doug Ireland, Hans Johnson, Dave Lindorff, Naomi Klein, John Nichols, James North, James Parker, Kim Phillips-Fein, Jehangir Pocha, Silja J.A. Talvi, Fred Weir, Adam Werbach, Slavoj Žižek  
PROOFREADERS Alan Kimmel, Brian O'Grady, Norman Wishner  
INTERNS Imran Ali, Christopher Burrow, Morgan Kroll, Erin Polgreen, Anna Schneider, Leighton Taylor, Pallav Vora, Jennifer Wedekind

ART DIRECTOR Rachel Jefferson  
ILLUSTRATOR Terry LaBan  
WEB DIRECTOR Seamus Holman

ACTING PUBLISHER Tracy Van Slyke  
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Aaron Sarver  
CIRCULATION DIRECTOR Peter Hoyt  
ADVERTISING DIRECTOR Emily Udell

IN THESE TIMES PUBLISHING CONSORTIUM  
Grant Abert, Theresa Alt, Stuart Anderson, Collier Hands, Polly Howells and Eric Werthman, Nancy Kricorian and James Schamus, Lisa Lee, Chris Lloyd, Edith Helen Monsees, Dave Rathke, Abby Rockefeller and Lee Halprin, Perry Rosenstein, Lewis Steel, Ellen Stone-Belic, Dan Terkel, Studs Terkel

BOARD OF DIRECTORS Joel Bleifuss, Janet Geovanis, Robert McChesney, David Moberg, Dave Rathke, Beth Schulman, Tracy Van Slyke

*In These Times* (ISSN 0160-5992) is published biweekly by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 308 E. Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 29, No. 19-20) went to press on August 19, for newsstand sales September 2 to October 7, 2005.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 2005 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Contact the union at (212) 254-0279 or [www.nwu.org](http://www.nwu.org).

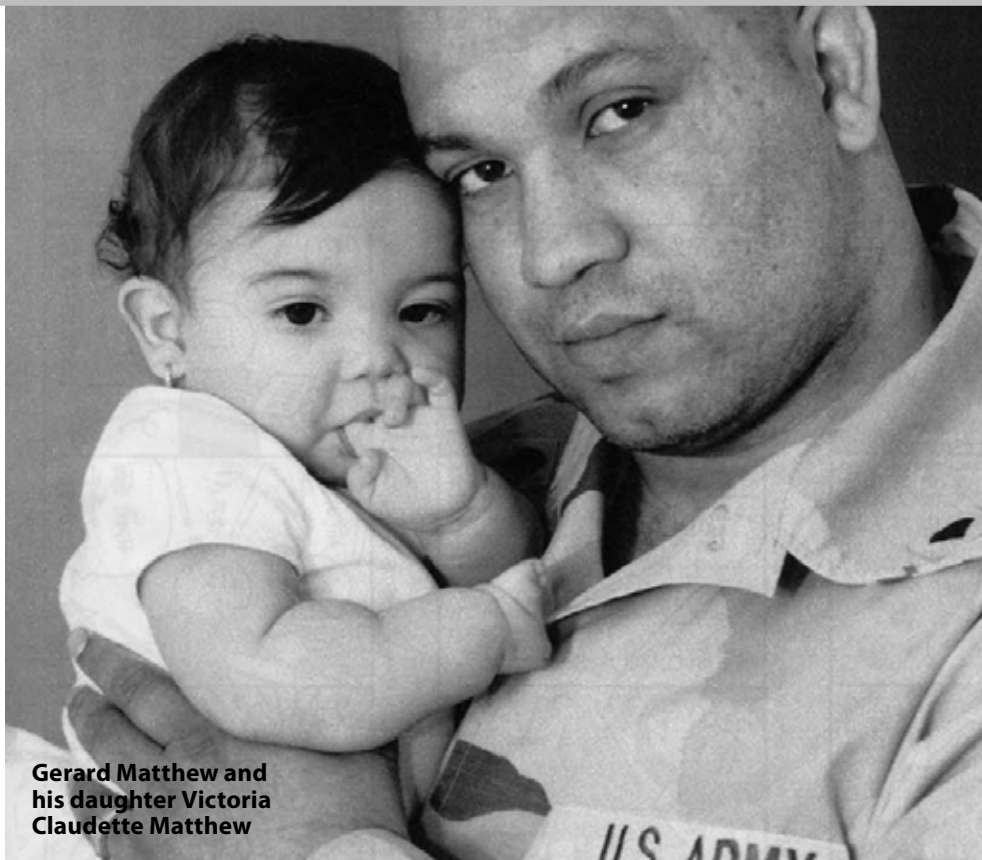
Subscriptions are \$36.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). For subscription questions, address changes and back issues call (800) 827-0270.

Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from Bell and Howell, Ann Arbor, MI. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Newsstand circulation through Big Top Newsstand Services, a division of the IPA, at (415) 445-0230, or [bigtop@indyexpress.org](http://bigtop@indyexpress.org).

Printed in the United States.



® GCIU 759-C



Gerard Matthew and  
his daughter Victoria  
Claudette Matthew

COURTESY OF GERARD MATTHEW

## Radioactive Wounds of War

Tests on returning troops suggest serious health consequences of depleted uranium use in Iraq. *By Dave Lindorff*

**G**ERARD MATTHEW THOUGHT HE WAS LUCKY. He returned from his Iraq tour a year and a half ago alive and in one piece. But after the New York State National Guardsman got home, he learned that a bunkmate, Sgt. Ray Ramos, and a group of N.Y. Guard members from another unit had accepted an offer by the *New York Daily News* and reporter Juan Gonzalez to be tested for depleted uranium (DU) contamination, and had tested positive.

Matthew, 31, decided that since he'd spent much of his time in Iraq lugging around DU-damaged equipment, he'd better get tested too. It turned out he was the most contaminated of them all.

Matthew immediately urged his wife to get an ultrasound check of their unborn baby. They discovered the fetus had a condition common to those with radioactive exposure: atypical syndactyly. The

right hand had only two digits.

So far Victoria Claudette, now 13 months old, shows no other genetic disorders and is healthy, but Matthew feels guilty for causing her deformity and angry at a government that never warned him about DU's dangers.

U.S. forces first used DU in the 1991 Gulf War, when some 300 tons of depleted uranium—the waste product of nuclear power plants and weapons facilities—were used in tank shells and shells fired by A-10 jets. A lesser amount was deployed by U.S. and NATO forces during the Balkans conflict. But in the current wars in Afghanistan and, especially, Iraq, DU has become the weapon of choice, with more than 1,000 tons used in Afghanistan and more than 3,000 tons used in Iraq. And while DU was fired mostly in the desert during the Gulf War, in the current war in Iraq, most of DU munitions are exploding in populated urban areas.

## Survival of the Dimmest

In August, the Kansas State School Board voted 6-4 to revise its science curriculum standards. On the Kansas Science Standards Web site, the school board notes, "An objective approach to teaching origins science is one that reasonably informs students about relevant competing scientific views."

Fair enough. But the main competing view of evolution favored by school board members is intelligent design (ID), which theorizes that the universe's patterns are too ordered to be the result of natural selection and must be the result of an intelligent cause or creator.

"ID theorists and other creationists don't like what the overwhelming body of science has to tell us about where human beings come from," writes Chris Mooney in his recent book, *The Republican War on Science*. "Their recourse? Trying to interfere with the process by which children are supposed to learn about the best scientific (as opposed to religious) answer that we have to this most fundamental of questions. ... Such interference represents the epitome of anti-intellectualism."

Anti-intellectual? President Bush begs to differ. He believes intelligent design should be taught alongside evolutionary theory: "Both sides ought to be properly taught so people can understand what the debate is about. Part of education is to expose people to different schools of thought."

If he has his way, perhaps the Kansas State School Board will soon be sending students on field trips to the Creation Museum, which is opening in 2007 in northern Kentucky. There, students can learn that "Adam and apes share the same birthday. The first man walked with dinosaurs and named them all!" The museum's Web site, [CreationMuseum.org](http://CreationMuseum.org), promises to take guests on a tour of the "7 C's of History: Creation, Corruption, Catastrophe, Confusion, Christ, Cross and Consummation."

—Morgan Kroll

The Pentagon has expanded DU beyond tank and A-10 shells, for use in bunker-busting bombs, which can spew out more than half a ton of DU in one explosion, in anti-personnel bomblets, and even in M-16 and pistol shells. The military loves DU for its unique penetration capability—it cuts through steel or concrete like they're butter.

The problem is that when DU hits its target, it burns at a high temperature, throwing off clouds of microscopic particles that poison a wide area and remain radioactive for billions of years. If inhaled, these particles can lodge in lungs, other organs or bones, irradiating tissue and causing cancers.

Worse yet, uranium is also a highly toxic heavy metal. Indeed, while there is some debate over the risk posed by the element's radioactive emissions, there is no debate regarding its chemical toxicity. According to Mt. Sinai pathologist Thomas Fasey, who participated in the New York Guard unit testing, the element has an affinity for bonding with DNA, where even trace amounts can cause cancers and fetal abnormalities.

Dr. Doug Rokke, a health physicist at the University of Illinois who headed up a Pentagon study of depleted uranium weapons in the mid '90s after concerns were raised during the Gulf War, concluded there was no safe way to use the weapons. Rokke says the Pentagon responded by denouncing him, after earlier commending his work.

No one knows how many U.S. soldiers have been contaminated by DU residue. Despite regulations authorizing tests for any military personnel who suspects exposure, the U.S. military is avoiding doing those tests—or delaying them until they are meaningless.

"When we asked to be tested at Ft. Dix, they wrongly told us we didn't have to worry unless we had DU fragments in our body," says Matthew. His buddy, Sgt. Ramos, who exhibits symptoms resembling radiation sickness and heavy metal poisoning, adds that at Walter Reed Medical Center he was grilled for hours about why he wanted to be tested and was then branded a troublemaker by his own unit. Matthew says Walter Reed "lost" his sample.

At the war's start, the United States refused to allow U.N. or other environmental inspectors to test DU levels within Iraq. Now the United Nations won't even go near Iraq because of security concerns.

"It doesn't seem right that we are poisoning the places we are supposed to be liberating," Ramos says.

The Pentagon continues to insist, on the basis of no field evidence, that DU is safe. To date, only some 270 returned troops have been tested for DU contamination by the military and Veterans Affairs. But even those tests, mostly urine samples, are useless 30 days after exposure, because by that time most of the DU has left the body or migrated into bones or organs.

Gonzalez and the *Daily News* paid for costlier tests for nine Guardsmen—tests that could pinpoint uranium inside the body and identify the special isotope signature of man-made DU. Four of the nine tested positive for DU; all had symptoms of uranium poisoning.

Even harder evidence may soon arrive. Connecticut State Representative Pat Dillon (D-New Haven), a Yale-trained epidemiologist, has crafted state-level legislation that Connecticut and Louisiana have unanimously passed, authorizing returned National Guard troops to request and receive specialized DU contamination tests at the Pentagon's expense. This approach bypasses the Pentagon's feet-dragging because National Guard troops fall under state, rather than federal, jurisdiction.

"This was not a Democratic or a Republican issue," Dillon says. "These are our kids and someone needs to protect them." She says that since passage of her bill, which takes effect this October, military groups and family organizations, state legislators, and even National Guard unit commanders have contacted her for copies of her bill to promote in their states. Bob Smith, a veteran in Louisiana who got hold of Dillon's bill and spearheaded a successful effort to pass similar legislation in Louisiana, claims that 14 to 20 other states are considering similar measures.

If enough Guard troops avail themselves of the testing—and start testing positive for contamination—it seems likely that reservists and active duty troops and veterans will demand similar access to rigorous tests, which can cost upwards of \$1000 per person.

One way or another, the Pentagon will pay a price. "DU is a war crime. It's that simple," Rokke says. "Once you've scattered all this stuff around, and then refuse to clean it up, you've committed a war crime." ■



# APPALL-O-METER

## 0.2 Who Moved My Tinfoil Hat?

Patrick Byrne, CEO of the online bargain seller Overstock.com, has a peculiar take on the recent and precipitous decline in his company's share price. It's a plot hatched by a "Sith Lord" working in tandem with short-selling hedge funds and corrupt Wall Street reporters. In fairness, Byrne probably doesn't believe that humanoid followers of the dark side of the Force are fiddling with his stock—probably.

But, given Byrne's tendency to ramble bizarrely in conference calls with investors, who knows? According to the *New York Post*, Byrne took the opportunity in a recent call to point out that the French background of a certain *Wall Street Journal* reporter rendered her incapable of understanding his company. He clarified that he did not visit gay bathhouses—not that, "as a libertarian," he thought there was anything wrong with that. He also helpfully explained that he was not "a coke head." (Nobody had asked.)

## 5.2 Have Gun, Will Retire

If the folly of conservative social thought and policy of the last few decades could be distilled into one act of irrationality, it would be the crime committed in June by William Crutchfield of Snellville, Ga. Seeking a little security for the remainder of his life, Crutchfield, 60, emptied his .38 pistol into Earl Lazenby, his postman of several years.

Crutchfield's motive is a little complicated. He had no particular grievance with his victim. In fact, as the Associated Press reports, the two were given to occasional friendly chats. Rather, Crutchfield was bedeviled by \$90,000 in medical debt, which he apparently believed would drive him into

bankruptcy and homelessness. He was merely searching, he later claimed, for a way to get the federal government to look after him.

It so happens that Crutchfield, a member of the National Rifle As-

sociation, had been following the case of Eric Rudolph, the right-winger terrorist/folk hero who bombed the Atlanta Olympics in protest against abortion and "the homosexual agenda." Rudolph's life sentence in federal prison struck Crutchfield as a rather agreeable gig, so he hatched a plan to get the same for himself.

That's where Lazenby came in. As a federal employee, he would be Crutchfield's ticket to free room, board and medical care courtesy of Uncle Sam. The mail carrier, who miraculously survived seven shots, recounted that Crutchfield "took his mail and then said, 'Hello.' And then he just started shooting."

As he had wished, Crutchfield now faces charges of attempting to kill a federal employee. "My health is very poor," Crutchfield said at a federal hearing. "I have congestive heart failure and diabetes. I have high blood pressure. ... I'd like to get to where I'm going and start doing my time."

—Dave Mulcahey



# Official Bigotry

In Florida, both anti-gay political rhetoric and hate crimes are on the rise. **By Andrew Stelzer**

IT'S A LONG WAY FROM Miami Beach.

When Paul Day returned home to see "die fag" spray-painted on the steps of his smoldering mobile home, he was frightened, but not shocked. Day and his boyfriend had been harassed before, and their hometown of Lakeland in Florida's Polk County also boasts the First Baptist Church at the Mall, whose head pastor is spearheading the drive for a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage—despite the fact that it's already illegal in the state.

Brian Winfield, communications director of Equality Florida, says he's bracing for more events like the arson attack. He says that it stands to reason that if the anti-gay forces choose to make their home in Lakeland, it reflects "a community where people feel comfortable with their bigotry, so much so that they are willing to act it out in violent ways."

Vocal opposition to gays has also become mainstream in neighboring Hillsborough County, where Tampa is located. Its GLBT community received a wake-up call in June, when County Commissioner Rhonda Storms raised objections to a shelf of books featured in her local library in honor of gay pride month. Storms claims she spoke for her rural and suburban constituents when she proposed that the county ban "acknowledging, promoting or participating" in gay pride events.

"I do not want to have to explain to my [6-year-old] daughter what it means to be

questioning one's sexuality ... or what a transgender person is, or what a bisexual is or what a gay or lesbian is," said Storms. She added that the library shouldn't be "used as bully pulpit to introduce those concepts to a child outside of their parents' purview." Only one county commissioner voted against the ban, which resulted in the removal of the shelf of books, as well as a larger display in the central library.

Patrick Jones, co-founder of Equality Polk County, was frustrated that it took the local media four days to even report the arson. He says the gay pride ban had put the community on notice, and the firebombing reaffirmed their fears. "It makes you wonder what level it's going to be stepped up to in this area," Jones said.

"It's not just a message to these two individuals," says Winfield of the arson attack, "but to any gay or lesbian citizen of Lakeland, or of Florida for that matter, that you're not wanted, that if we know that you're gay, and you're out of the closet, your life is at risk."

The most recent hate crimes report from the state attorney general found that in the last four years on record (2000–03), Florida law enforcement agencies reported 194 hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation—more than the combined total for the first eight years of hate crimes reporting. In 2003, the 55 hate crimes against gays comprised 20 percent of Florida's total, the highest percentage ever.

Winfield is calling on those in power to stop preaching hatred. "We need to begin a





Marchers show solidarity at the Hillsborough Gay Pride in Exile celebration in Key West

process by which our political and religious leaders step away from using this anti-gay rhetoric that's become so popular in order to build one's base," he says, because history shows that when such rhetoric increases, "so do hate crimes against gay people."

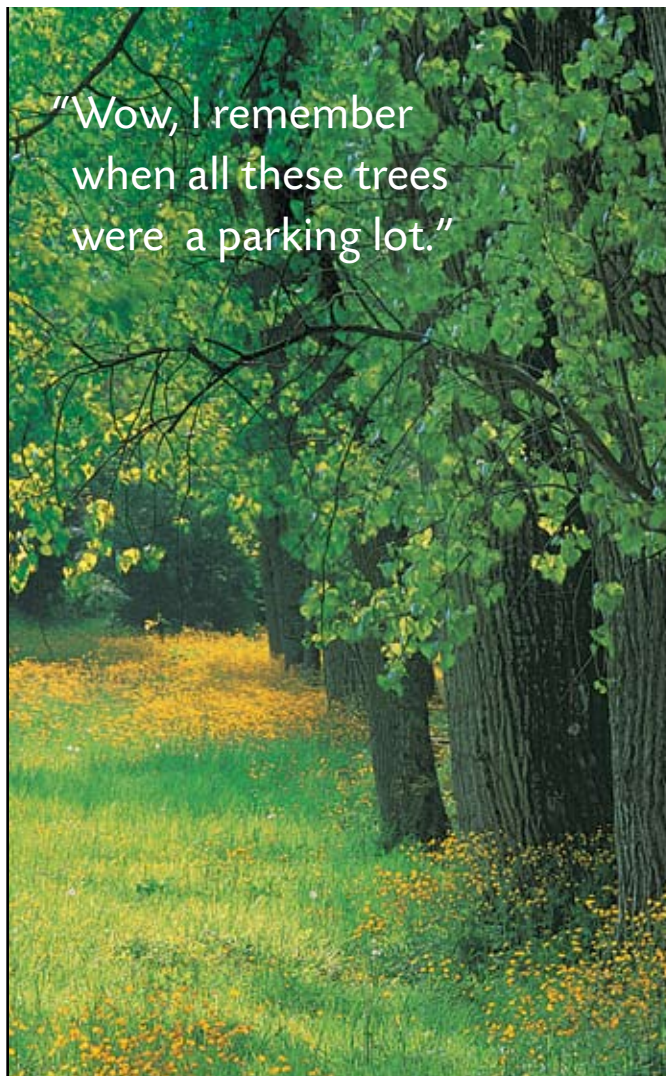
In response to the gay pride ban, more than 2,000 people marched through downtown Tampa. Some long-time residents are considering moving out of the state. Some out-of-towners are writing letters to the editor, vowing not to travel to the area on vacation. But with conservatism growing increasingly popular in Florida, a political backlash against homophobic policymakers doesn't appear likely.

Instead, economics may be the tolerant community's best tool. The co-owner of a Mississippi-based mini-storage business has taken Tampa off his list of potential convention sites; activists are hoping a boycott by other controversy-shy conferences and conventions may get the

gay pride ban overturned. There are also plans to ask the National Football League to pull the 2009 Superbowl out of Tampa. NFL commissioner Paul Tagliabue has a gay son and is an active member of Parents, Friends, and Family of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG). Gay rights supporters point to the example of a Cobb County, Ga., resolution condemning the "gay lifestyle" as incompatible with the community's standards, which resulted in a detour of the Olympics around the county in 1996.

But the decision by the Olympic committee to snub Cobb County didn't come until the lead-up to the games, three years after the anti-gay policy was instituted. For Southwest Florida residents who are now looking over their shoulders, four years is a long time to wait. ■

**ANDREW STELZER** is a news reporter and anchor at community radio station WMNF in Tampa, Florida.



"Wow, I remember when all these trees were a parking lot."

The future can be taller. Quieter.

And filled with green places.

Invest in tomorrow today.

**Domini** 

**SOCIAL INVESTMENTS®**

**Investing For Good<sup>SM</sup>**

1-800-530-5321

[www.domini.com](http://www.domini.com)

You should consider the Domini Funds' investment objectives, risks, charges, and expenses carefully before investing. Please obtain a copy of the Funds' current prospectus for more complete information on these and other topics by calling 1-800-530-5321 or online at [www.domini.com](http://www.domini.com). Please read it carefully before investing or sending money. DSIL Investment Services LLC, Distributor 04/05

# Dueling Dynasties

As Daley stumbles, Chicagoans ask 'Will Jesse Junior Run?' *By Ethan Michaeli*

**C**HICAGO MAYOR Richard M. Daley is in trouble. After a smooth run of 16 years, Daley is suddenly facing an aggressive federal prosecutor and a growing number of potential political challengers.

A total of 30 City of Chicago employees and contractors have been indicted and 21 convicted on charges that range from stealing asphalt to trading city contracts for bribes to selling heroin on the job. Dozens of city employees—including several department heads and the city's inspector general—have retired, been fired, or forced to resign.

An indictment of Daley would not be out of character for the federal prosecutor for northern Illinois, U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald is a tenacious prosecutor whose current portfolio includes investigating the alleged leak of CIA agent Valerie Plame's identity by White House officials.

But Fitzgerald's prosecution of Daley's City Hall looks less like that exotic case and more like a traditional legal assault on organized crime. On August 12, a federal judge gave a seven-year prison sentence to John "Quarters" Boyle, an associate of organized crime figures, for steering trucking contracts and other favors in exchange for bribes.

Boyle has refused to provide any information about those above him in the hierarchy. But more than 30 current and former city officials—including five former department heads, four former and two current personnel directors—are described as "cooperating witnesses." Fitzgerald is almost certainly working his way up the City Hall hierarchy.



SCOTT OLSON/GETTY IMAGES

Boyle "is obviously proud that he's not cooperating," Fitzgerald told reporters after sentencing. "And he can be proud—in prison."

The mayor's troubles reflect a remarkable turn-around. Just a few years ago, Daley was praised for restoring downtown and beautifying the city with trees and planters. He took control of the city schools, quelled their querulous labor union and now boasts of improving test scores among city school children.

For years, Daley operated unscathed as federal prosecutors picked off corrupt Chicago aldermen one by one, along with a few county officials and state legislators. He even got to appoint many of the aldermen's replacements, starting the electoral careers of more than one-half of the current City Hall roster. In combination with his brothers—former Gore/Lieberman 2000 Campaign Chair Bill Daley, Cook County Finance Chair John Daley and attorney Michael Daley—the mayor

amassed considerable influence in the state and federal government as well as in the corporate sector.

Out-of-town-ers still shower Daley with plaudits. Citing his "imperial power," *Time* praised "Richard the Second" in April as one of the nation's top five mayors. The city's new downtown Millennium Park has dazzled visitors with its public art and amenities.

But underneath the technocratic veneer is a pinstripe patronage version of his father's political machine. Take Millennium Park itself: Many Chicago taxpayers gasped at the price tag—more than \$475 million, including \$270 million in public funds.

The cost of Daley's appetites has become obvious in Chicago's low-income neighborhoods. In 2000, the Mayor announced his Plan for Transformation, a \$1.6 billion plan to tear down the high-rise public housing buildings in Cabrini-Green, Robert Taylor Homes and other developments, and replace them with low-rise, mixed-income housing.

Halfway through the plan, however, dozens of buildings have been demolished but only a few replacement units have been built. Most residents have relocated using Housing Choice Vouchers for private apartments in other segregated, impoverished, crime-ridden areas further from the city center. Hundreds of families, if not thousands,

have been rendered homeless.

Daley's failures will not shift the balance of power between Democrats and Republicans. The Chicago GOP has been a fringe party in Windy City politics for decades. But Daley's troubles are setting the stage for a battle between two political dynasties that represent the business-as-usual wing of the Democratic Party and its more progressive side.

The most likely opponent for the 2007 mayoral race is Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-Ill.), whose district includes a wide swath of the city's predominantly African-American South side. The son of the prominent civil rights leader, Jackson was an early opponent of the invasion of Iraq and, in a city that has been reluctant to criticize Daley, has spoken out unequivocally about the mayor's performance. In reference to Daley's minority set-aside program, Jackson told the City Council to "clean up the stench." Jackson described the mayor's recent moves to fire several officials as "too little, too late."

The current Mayor Daley sat in his father's booth while Chicago police pummeled protestors outside the Democratic National Convention in 1968. At the next convention in 1972, the senior Jackson was part of a wider progressive coalition within the Democratic Party that opposed the Vietnam War and demanded civil rights legislation and programs to help the poor.

Should he be elected, current Chicago public housing residents would hope to receive similar attention from Jesse Junior. On his Web site, Jackson makes it plain that "adequate, safe, and affordable housing is a human right." ■

**ETHAN MICHAELI** is the publisher of *Residents' Journal*, a bi-monthly magazine written by and for Chicago public housing residents.



**I**'M AFRAID THAT IF I WATCH A LOT OF TV, I WILL start to hate myself as an Arab, or as a Muslim or as a Palestinian," says Samar Dahmash-Jarrah, "because there is nothing out there except bias and stereotyping and hatred."

Jarrah, 42, is a long way from her year-and-a-half stint as a contributor to CNN's "World Report" in the late '80s, when she was filing three-minute spots every week from Jordan. Back then, she had hope that the fledgling world news network could bridge gaps of understanding between nations and cultures. Now, she's given up on the mainstream press, and has decided to personally act as a medium for the two cultures she calls home.

Since moving to the States more than a decade ago, Jarrah, a Kuwaiti-born Palestinian-American, has taught classes on Islam, history, media and international relations at the University of South Florida. "I ask my students to read books by Arabs before they go and read books by non-Arabs to explain the Arab mind," says Jarrah.

After 9/11, Jarrah found herself having to walk what she taught. She was asked to speak to church and community groups in her Port Charlotte, Fla., community. She earned praise and more invitations to speak with each appearance, but she soon realized that having lived in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan did not make her an expert on the post-9/11 Arab world.

"For three-and-a-half years, all I did was answer questions on behalf of Arabs and Muslims," she said. "Finally I said, 'maybe it's about time that I let Arabs answer these questions that Americans keep asking me.'"

Jarrah sent out emails to every American she knew, soliciting the questions people wanted to ask an average Arab on the street, consolidating them into 100 questions in 7 categories: religion, 9/11, the war in Iraq, women's roles, Israel and Palestine, Arab and Muslim society and U.S.-Middle East relations.

Jarrah then traveled to Egypt, Jordan and Kuwait and interviewed a dozen random strangers: Women and men, Christians and Muslims, with a cross-section of education and accomplishment, ranging from ages 19 to 66. The transcripts of the answers to those questions have been compiled in her self-published book, *Arab Voices Speak to American Hearts*.

"I didn't expect people to be so consumed by the Arab-Israeli conflict," says Jarrah. "I was traveling soon after Abu Ghraib, and it was important, Iraq was important, Afghanistan was important, this attempt to defame Islam was important, but nothing seemed as urgent as the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Jarrah describes her target audience as "average Americans who don't know much about the Arab world

and the Arab people." As a dozen Arabs talk about their families, fears and beliefs, the complexity of their personalities emerge, and the diversity of their views serves to bust the myth of a monolithic civilization.

A couple of interviewees supported the invasion of Iraq, although they unanimously don't like President Bush or how the war has been handled.

## Ready for Dialogue

By Andrew Stelzer

The reader is reminded over and over that Arabs like Americans, but not the policies of the U.S. government. "We have no quarrel with the American people, but we need them to reclaim their country," says Dr. Khaled, a Jordanian professor and retired diplomat.

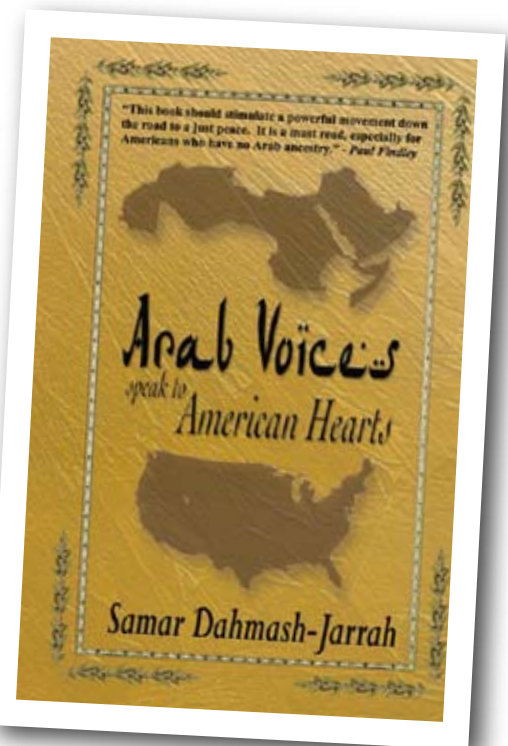
Hamed, 53, who owns a construction firm in Kuwait, criticizes religious fundamentalism in both Arab and American cultures. "To be a liberal, you have to put forth effort," he says. "You have to read, travel, it's a lot of work. But all a fundamentalist needs to do is go to a mosque all the time."

Jarrah made a conscious decision to exclude more extremist Arabs "because they have more airtime," she says.

"The extremists—not only in the Arab world, but all over—they are most visible. You know their names and faces more than the millions and millions of people who are moderate, and who do not commit crimes."

Thus far, Jarrah has received inspiring feedback from readers. "A guy came up to me at a restaurant and said, 'They keep telling me they hate us and they are the enemy and they are jealous, and finally I found a logical answer to all these questions.'"

In order to spur more dialogue, the back section of *Arab Voices Speak to American Hearts* contains the questions posed back to Americans by her Arab interview subjects. Those answers will make up Jarrah's next book, tentatively titled *American Hearts Respond to Arab Questions*. Find out more at [www.arabvoicespeak.com](http://www.arabvoicespeak.com). ■



**ANDREW STELZER** is a news reporter and anchor at community radio station WMNF in Tampa, Florida.



## Viewpoint *By Roberto Lovato*

# The Whiteness of Wi-Fi

Were he  
alive today,  
DuBois  
would  
similarly  
conclude  
that the  
digital divide  
has a color  
line running  
through it.

**W**.E.B. DuBois wrote at a time of breath-taking social change, a time not unlike our own. The black social critic, activist and writer documented how African Americans fled the bitter roots of sharecropping in the Jim Crow South only to find themselves at the margins of the bustling industrial economy of cities in the North like Philadelphia.

The railroad ushered in dramatic change and Philadelphia, a mercantile and industrial powerhouse, had taken its place as the center of the U.S. railroad industry. In books written in the 1890s and early 20th century, DuBois captured how railroad barons and white labor union leaders forced African Americans into densely populated brick row homes on sewage-filled streets on the wrong side of the railroad tracks, away from the commerce and economic development on the other, whiter side.

Like those turn of the century railroads, the Internet has connected the entire country and transformed many industries. Were he alive today, DuBois might similarly conclude that the digital divide has a color line running through it.

As was the case with ownership of and access to railroads in the industrial era, control over and access to broadband connectivity is defining global, regional and individual success. In turn, it is shaping whether African Americans, Latinos and the poor will continue to live in economically strip-mined neighborhoods like Philadelphia's Kensington.

Last year, city leaders announced a program to provide universal access to Wi-Fi, wireless technology that provides individuals and organizations with Internet connectivity. The city's Chief Information Officer, Diana Neff, proposed a strategy to "create a digital infrastructure for open-air Internet access and to help citizens, businesses, schools, and community organizations make effective use of wireless technology to achieve their goals."

But free to low-cost Wi-Fi access represents a threat to big telecoms and cable providers that reap billions by charging for Internet access while tapping into the publicly-owned electronic radio spectrum that facilitates wireless communications.

Like the railroad barons of DuBois' time, the CEOs and lobbyists of telecom and cable giants worked against the interest of Philadelphia's majority. Claiming unfair competition, representatives of big business lobbied Pennsylvania legislators to outlaw free municipal Wi-Fi for the 75 percent of Philadelphia's poor who

Neff estimates have no access to the Internet. Media reform advocates and local officials defeated those efforts earlier this year in a victory that has become a benchmark for activists in other cities.

Like many in the media reform movement, DuBois might see the strategic import of securing universal Wi-Fi access in the City of Brotherly Love. Yet, unlike the members of the mostly white media reform movement (and unlike most U.S. "progressives"), he would work and live in Kensington or other poor, unwired neighborhoods and would organize there—just as he did when he helped establish the NAACP. Living and organizing among the poor informed his passion to fight what he called "the evil which a privileged few may exercise over the majority."

That such a spirit—and practice—is lacking in the media reform and larger progressive community bodes ill for political work in the United States. The media reform movement must adopt not just DuBois' passion for issues like race, but his methods as well.

For now, a monochromatic color spectrum (as in various shades of white) divides the movement from people like Saskia Fischer, an organizer with the United Church of Christ's Media Empowerment Project. Consider her the exception to what some call the "unbearable whiteness of media reform." Fischer has heeded DuBois' call to attack the color line by engaging working people in what she and others prefer to call the "media justice movement." The term "includes people of color—and is more radical," says Fischer. Fischer, herself a young Indian and Dutch immigrant, works with black, Latino, Arab, immigrant and other communities by linking licensing of the public spectrum, computer and internet access and other media issues to local concerns like education and jobs.

As effective as the organizing of media reform groups like The Center for Digital Democracy, the Media Access Project and Free Press is, the groups are increasingly recognizing the need to cross the color line in a country where most major cities are, like Philadelphia, "majority minority" cities. Organizing in and with non-white, working class communities will add vitality and urgency—and a large base.

Failure to broaden the movement comes at a time when the right is reengineering itself to be more inclusive. "Media justice issues are life and death issues for our communities," says Fischer. Learning to navigate the digital divide's color line may be similarly fateful for the progressive movement itself. ■

**ROBERTO LOVATO**  
is a New York-based  
writer with Pacific  
News Service. He  
can be reached  
at [robvato63@  
yahoo.com](mailto:robvato63@yahoo.com).





# Sand, Sun and Spectrum Policy

**S**UMMER IS NO TIME TO TALK ABOUT SPECTRUM policy. So instead, let's pretend this is a column about going to the beach.

Imagine for a moment that you're relaxing on the white sand, with a slight breeze in the air, just steps from the clear blue water. This beach is open to the public, but it's never too crowded. It's a great place to surf.

But then one day you show up, and there's a huge brick wall blocking your path to the shore. Without telling anyone, the government sold off this seaside spot to a private developer. Seems they were a little short of cash because of too many tax cuts. If you still want to dip your toes in the water, the new management expects you to pay through the nose.

You'd be pretty angry, right?

Well, that's exactly what's happening right now in Congress. Only the valuable public resource being auctioned off isn't the beach—it's a prime slice of the public airwaves.

A little background: In 1996, Bill Clinton and Congress handed the nation's television broadcasters billions of dollars worth of the radio spectrum for free to make the transition from analog to digital broadcasting.

Where broadcasters now have one channel on the air, they'll soon be able to "multicast" four to six channels simultaneously (with no new obligations for public interest programming). This will be especially troubling if the broadcasters succeed in overturning broadcast ownership rules at the FCC. They could potentially control as many as 12 or 18 channels in a single market.

In exchange for this windfall, the broadcasters were supposed to complete the digital transition by the end of next year—and return their old analog spectrum to the government. But they've been slow to make the switch, so Congress is preparing to impose a new "hard date" of Dec. 31, 2008, at which point your TV will stop working if you don't subscribe to cable or satellite.

That's right. Though nobody has bothered to warn consumers, millions of TVs being sold right now will soon be obsolete. Even though 85 percent of U.S. households subscribe to cable or satellite, Consumers Union estimates that 39 percent of homes have at least one TV relying on over-the-air analog signals. Unless the government pays for a subsidy, tens of millions of viewers will have to cough up at least \$50 for a con-

verter or buy new TVs altogether. (Guess which one the electronics industry is counting on.)

But the real scandal of the digital television transition is what's going to happen to the analog spectrum that's being vacated by the broadcasters and returned to the government. After returning from the recess, Congress intends to auction off the public airwaves to the cell phone companies for at least \$20 billion.

You wouldn't know from the paltry press coverage of this boondoggle that there's an alternative. Instead of a one-time fire sale, Congress could open the airwaves to the public and lay the groundwork for universal, broadband access. All they have to do is set aside a portion of the spectrum as "unlicensed," meaning anyone can use it, not just the highest bidder.

The wireless network at your corner coffee shop uses unlicensed spectrum. But right now Wi-Fi operates in the high-frequency "junk bands," which are cluttered with signals from microwave ovens, garage-door openers and baby monitors. The airwaves being taken from the broadcasters, however, are the Malibu of the radio spectrum—fine beachfront property.

Signals at these lower frequencies travel farther at lower powers and can go through obstacles like walls, trees and mountains. That means lower infrastructure costs for broadband providers, encouraging the development of local wireless networks and lowering prices. With more unlicensed spectrum, the "Community Internet" networks being set up across the country would be even faster and more reliable. Super-high-speed broadband connections for just \$10 a month could be a reality.

Under the current regime, a majority of Americans are unable to get connected or afford the high-priced commercial service offered by the cable and phone companies. The United States has fallen to 16th place worldwide in broadband penetration—behind countries like South Korea, Japan, Canada and Finland. More unlicensed spectrum would help narrow the digital divide.

We're heading for a world in which all communications—television, telephone, radio and the Web—will be delivered over the Internet. The choice seems clear: We can sell off our public resources to pay for the war, tax cuts or more pork-barrel projects. Or we can invest in the future, bringing the benefits of broadband to all Americans.

But first our lawmakers need to pull their heads out of the sand. ■

After returning from the recess, Congress intends to auction off the public airwaves to the cell phone companies for at least \$20 billion.

**CRAIG AARON** is the communications director of the national media reform group Free Press ([www.freepress.net](http://www.freepress.net)) and a senior editor of *In These Times*. The views expressed here are his own.



## Back Talk *By Susan J. Douglas*

# Nose-Ringed No More

The Bush media management methods—speaking before only pre-selected audiences, stonewalling in the face of criticism—finally appear to be wearing thin.

**T**HIS IS THE SUMMER OF BUSH'S DISCONTENT. The more he tries to project that everything is just A-OK, the more ridiculous he looks. His bike ride with members of the press on his beloved ranch in Crawford, in which he said he had thought about Cindy Sheehan's request to see him but that now "it's also important for me to go on with my life," has moved alongside Tom Cruise's sofa-jumping as one of the summer's more embarrassing public moments. It then got out that while Iraqis missed the deadline for agreeing on a constitution, and more Americans were dying there, Bush was going to attend a Little League game, fish, hang with Condi and take a nap.

The Bush media management methods—speaking before only pre-selected audiences, stonewalling in the face of criticism, trying to change the subject by showing the president clearing brush—finally appear to be wearing thin. Some of this stems from long-simmering exasperation among journalists about Team Bush's media manipulation. But some of it is also "The Daily Show" effect, which has played a key role in moving us from a post-9/11 media environment to, for lack of a better term, a post-post-9/11 media milieu.

The post-9/11 era of cowed, ring-in-the-nose journalism lasted until the summer of 2003, when it was clear that "shock and awe" had not been a lasting success and no WMDs had been found. The major turning point may have occurred on May 1, 2003, when Bush flew in, *Top Gun* style, onto the deck of the USS Abraham Lincoln and declared an end to major combat in Iraq with the "Mission Accomplished" banner as a backdrop. It was too much—too obviously choreographed, down to the jumpsuit and the camera angles designed not to show how close the carrier was to San Diego. Like a magic trick that defies perception, the spectacle was so bald that viewers wanted to know how it was done—and thus it contained the seeds of its own undoing.

The post-9/11 media environment further evolved into the post-post-9/11 milieu in the summer of 2004, when the 9/11 hearings and a spate of anti-Bush exposés further emphasized the gap between Team Bush assertions and the facts. This summer's press briefing about Karl Rove's possible role in leaking the identity of Valerie Plame, in which the White House press corps savaged Scott McClellan, prompted Jon Stewart to quip that the press corps

had been replaced by real journalists.

Witness the recent changes on CNN. Now even Lou Dobbs, who rants regularly about illegal immigration and political correctness, has begun to express outrage over presidential incompetence and corporate greed. On August 8, when reporting on the signing of the energy bill, Dobbs noted that "While energy companies are set to receive those massive tax breaks and reap what are nothing less than windfall profits, American consumers are being squeezed by the rising price of gasoline." On August 11, he denounced the "abject failure" of the command staff of the military in Iraq and asked, "How is it that this—that the top Pentagon officials are allowed to continue, if you will, to speak in such circular and obfuscatory terms?"

Dobbs interviewed Dick Gephardt about the future of America's labor unions and actually said, "The ironic and tragic thing to me is that at a time when employees need every kind of help they can find in this country, in nearly every industry at all levels, organized labor cannot find traction or a way in which to engage them, or to find a role for itself in a relationship with employers." This was followed by "And as we see jobs being outsourced in this country, wages have been static in this country for just about three decades, as you well know."

Dobbs is no fool—he has grasped the post-post-9/11 media milieu and appears to be cobbling together a conservative populism that blends right wing cultural values with an anti-corporate and, increasingly, anti-Bush stance.

The Bush PR machine is continuing to win, so far, on some spin games, especially on Supreme Court nominee John Roberts, whom we are repeatedly told was merely working for others, so we can't possibly know what he might do on his own on the court. But putting Bush out there is no longer working so well (especially with Cindy Sheehan just down the road). According to an August Gallup poll, his approval rating is 45 percent, the lowest at this point in his term of any president since WWII. Nearly six in 10 oppose the war in Iraq.

The post-post-9/11 media milieu has been fueled by, but has also helped bring about these shifts. But we are in a new phase of the standoff between this increasingly unpopular presidency and an embattled and discredited news media. It will be interesting to see where the new milieu takes us. ■

**SUSAN DOUGLAS** is a professor of communications at the University of Michigan and co-author of *The Mommy Myth: The Idealization of Motherhood and How It Has Undermined Women*.



# Democratic Dos and Don'ts

**T**HE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND REPUBLICAN Congressional leaders have plenty of reason to be worried. Large majorities of Americans believe the country is going in the wrong direction. Most people can't think of anything Congress has done except for intruding in the Terri Schiavo case, and almost everyone disapproved of that. Democrats in Congress, while still not earning high ratings, are ahead of the Republicans by the largest margin in recent times. And I haven't heard anyone raving about what a genius Karl Rove is lately.

The turf is favorable, but we've been there before—in 2000 and 2004. What should progressives do as we approach the 2006 elections to capitalize on Americans' sense of unease and discontent?

I suggest two "Don'ts" and three "Dos." First, we don't need an extreme makeover. Far from it. We do not need to rethink our values and principles, rewrite our agenda or move to the "center." Polls taken the day before the 2004 election as well as the day after tell us clearly that the Democrats are already where most Americans are on the issues and also on values. The post-election Zogby poll asked respondents to name the moral values most important to them. Two to one, they named "greed and materialism" and "poverty and economic justice" over "abortion" and "same sex marriage." They share our values. We do, in fact, represent the aspirations of the majority of Americans.

Second, don't talk about our beliefs in terms of programs and policies. I have a ten-point health care plan. I have a housing policy. The right-wingers talk in terms of "right and wrong." Right and wrong trumps programs and policies every time.

My three "Dos": First, do what your mother said—or at least what my mother said—stand up straight. What people like least about progressives and Democrats is that they think we're squishy. They think Bush is tough, knows what he believes and is willing to fight for it. Americans like tough, even when they don't entirely agree with the substance. Voters like tough; voters don't like tentative.

Standing up straight requires staying on the offensive. If we are playing defense, we are losing. The Republicans are providing us with a wealth of opportunities—unlimited examples of abuse of power, multiple examples of plain old corruption and greed, predatory economic policies, the quagmire in Iraq, threats to our Constitutional rights and devastating environmental policies.

Nothing should stop progressives from proudly and

aggressively standing up in opposition to conservatives' assault on fundamental, mainstream American values and sensibilities. Most Americans resent being lied to about going to war and about outing undercover CIA agents. So many offenses, so little time.

The second "Do"—say it again. Repeat, repeat, repeat. Steve Chapman, a columnist for the *Chicago Tribune* observed that in math,  $100 \times 0 = 0$ . In politics, you say something a hundred times and it adds up. Consider the repeal of the estate tax, which is nothing more than a giveaway to (as my mother would say) the "filthy rich." The President calls it the death tax. Rush Limbaugh, Fox News, and right-wing talk radio call it the death tax. The *Washington Times* writes about the death tax. And before you know it, the *New York Times* writes about the death tax, and since everybody dies, the public starts asking for relief from the death tax. Republican repetition represents the level of discipline that we need if we ever expect average Americans to hear what we stand for.

For the final "Do," I borrow from Nike's successful corporate slogan "Just Do It." Quite frankly, I am sick of conversations about how disadvantaged we are because they control so much of the media or how the right-wing has been building its infrastructure for decades—even if it is true.

The campaign to save Social Security is a perfect example of progressives "just doing it," as well as standing up straight and saying the same thing again and again. In my decades as an organizer, I have never participated in such an intentional and effective collaboration among diverse organizations and members of Congress. All the stakeholders have been brought to the table to craft a strategy that maximizes the strength of each. The president has not made a single stop on his journey to privatize and ultimately destroy Social Security that has not been greeted by an enthusiastic, disciplined and, often, huge group of protesters. Republicans are scrambling for cover, afraid to hold town meetings of their own. While it's not over 'til it's over, we are winning the battle to protect and preserve Social Security.

I am optimistic; history is on our side. Rather than the beginning of a right-wing shift, I believe we are enduring its last gasp. This is a moment of opportunity for progressives; change is in the air. The 2006 Congressional elections are just around the corner, and we can't waste a minute. Stand up straight, say it again and just do it! ■

Nothing should stop progressives from proudly and aggressively standing up in opposition to conservatives' assault on fundamental, mainstream American values and sensibilities.

**JAN SCHAKOWSKY**  
represents Illinois' 9th  
District in Congress.

# EXITING Iraq



A hospitalized Iraqi boy  
as viewed through an  
X-ray of his own skull.



BY TOM HAYDEN

## IT'S TIME FOR AN EXIT STRATEGY

**W**HEN YOU'RE IN THE MIDDLE of a conflict, you're trying to find pillars of strength to lean on," an American officer in Iraq said recently. With those words he provided a clue to ending the war: Undermine the pillars of Pentagon policy through people power.

Those pillars—among them public cooperation, Iraqi cooperation, congressional compliance, centrist caution, military recruitment and U.S. alliances—are weakening.

### The time is now

Public support for the war is down, as are the president's ratings. Antiwar Democrats are coming back. Military recruiting is hitting a wall. The strategy of "Iraqization" is failing. The coalition of the willing is disintegrating. America's reputation is tattered.

Public sympathy towards Cindy Sheehan suggests a crucial shift in America's sensibility toward the losses. Usually wars generate a public reluctance to withdraw without "victory" so that the fallen shall not have "died in vain." In this case, Sheehan has led much of the country through a grieving process that demands the truth so that no others will die for hollow or fabricated reasons.

Recognizing its weaknesses, the administration is on a mission of perception management to gain time and

resources. Americans are now being promised that Iraq will have a new constitution, democratic elections and, most importantly, that the first troops may be home by the spring of the 2006 election year.

These gestures are the Bush administration's responses to the quandaries it is confronting on the battlefields of war and domestic public opinion. They are designed to extend the conflict while appearing to begin disengagement. This ploy is nothing new; we should remember that the Vietnam War continued for seven years after President Johnson was pressured to resign and peace talks began.

"They just keep getting stronger," the *New York Times* recently wrote when describing the Iraqi resistance. The *Times* went on to confirm that over the past year the insurgents have inflicted some 65 attacks on U.S. and Iraqi troops each day, with increasing sophistication and precision. Baghdad is "effectively enemy territory, with an ability to strike at will, and to shake off the losses inflicted by American troops." American casualties cannot be concealed. During May and June, 71 Americans were killed in 700 attacks; by the year's end it is likely that 2,000 Americans will have been killed, not counting hundreds of American private contractors. According to Pentagon data, 13,000 Americans have been

**“ Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld says the war in Iraq may take four, eight or 12 years—in other words, several more U.S. presidential cycles. ”**

wounded in battle, more than half of them seriously. Tens of thousands will return with serious mental health problems.

U.S. troops cannot hold the territory they occupy—the classic contradiction faced by an occupying power trying to prop up an unrepresentative regime against a nationalist resistance. The training and deployment of Iraqi counter-insurgency troops—"Iraqization"—has failed so far, according to declassified Pentagon reports. And Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld says it may take four, eight, or 12 years—in other words, several more U.S. presidential cycles.

### Iraqi antiwar groups rise

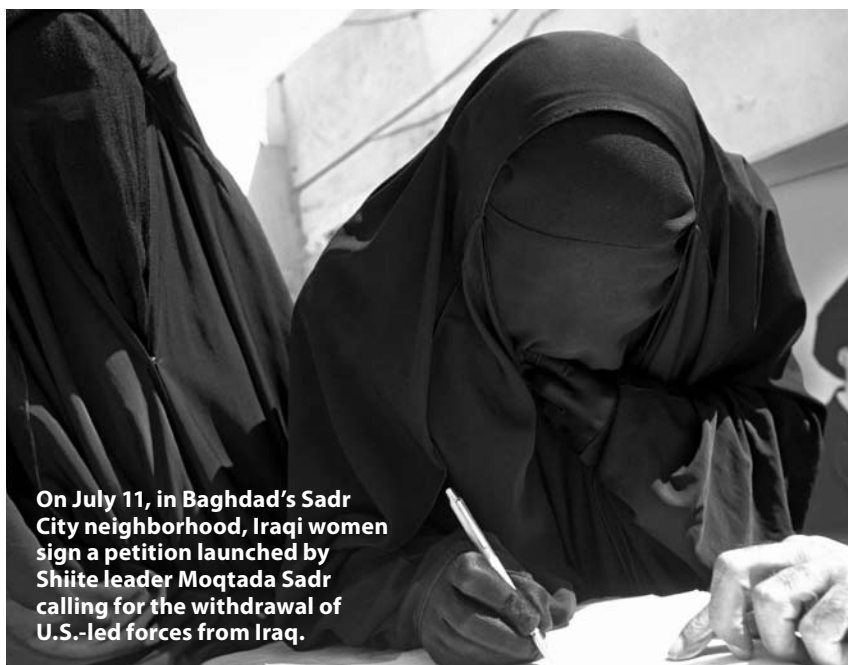
The most significant factor on the ground is the rise of an Iraqi movement calling for U.S. withdrawal and the end of the occupation. Rather than welcoming such a development, the administration and a media blinded by its own paradigms have ignored the possibility of a peace process among Iraqis.

Buried in the eleventh paragraph of a July 2005 story about two British contractors dying in Iraq, the *Times* mentions that supporters of the Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, famous for two uprisings against American troops, collected one million signatures against the occupation in three weeks. In addition, on June 12 at least 82 members of the Iraqi parliament—one-third of the body—issued a statement calling for the end of occupation and complaining they were not properly consulted in the United Nations Security Council's recent extension of the occupation.

The rumblings within America's client



The photos featured at left and on page 20 will appear in *Unembedded: Four Independent Photojournalists on the War in Iraq*, due out in November from Chelsea Green Publishing ([www.chelseagreen.com](http://www.chelseagreen.com)). The book is part of a larger multi-platform media project called "SHOW US THE WAR," a coalition of independent filmmakers, print and television journalists coming together to fill the void of coverage about Iraq. For more information contact Jennifer Nix ([jnix@chelseagreen.com](mailto:jnix@chelseagreen.com)), Julie Bergman Sender ([jsend@earthlink.net](mailto:jsend@earthlink.net)), or Josh Silver ([jsilver@freepress.net](mailto:jsilver@freepress.net)).



**On July 11, in Baghdad's Sadr City neighborhood, Iraqi women sign a petition launched by Shiite leader Moqtada Sadr calling for the withdrawal of U.S.-led forces from Iraq.**

AHMAD AL-RUBAYE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

regime reflect a widespread consensus on the ground. Surveys taken at the beginning of 2005 show that 82 percent of Sunnis and 69 percent of Shiites favored a near-term U.S. withdrawal. According to the State Department's own internal surveys, at least half of Iraqis interviewed say they feel unsafe because of the presence of American troops.

Indeed, a former minister in the Iraqi government, Dr. Aiham Al Sammarae, is engaged in peace talks with representatives of at least four insurgent groups. He spoke in Washington in July about his mission, but has received no public acknowledgement by government officials or mainstream reporters. In all likelihood, the Bush administration is struggling to suppress even moderate voices against the occupation. After all, how would the United States respond to a broad-based antiwar movement in Iraq? Call a majority of Iraqis dupes of terrorism?

Most Americans would be relieved at the prospect of peace talks among Iraqis, including the insurgents, aimed at ending the debacle. The situation calls for a negotiated exit strategy, not Rumsfeld's boastful assertion, "We have no exit strategy, only a victory strategy."

Nevertheless, the White House will play upon the significant misgivings

many Americans feel about the consequences of a sudden pullout. Since Bush has no exit plan, it is important that peace advocates put one forward in the final battle for public opinion.

A provisional exit plan is circulating as a petition to Congress on several peace group Web sites. Its core guidelines include:

- A demand that the United States disavow any plans for permanent military bases or control of Iraqi oil.
- A declaration of intent to end the occupation in months, not years, followed by an initial limited troop withdrawal by December.
- A request that the United Nations take responsibility for military monitoring and the task of economic reconstruction.
- The appointment of an independent peace envoy to undertake the shift from the military model to one of conflict resolution.
- Immediate peace talks with the Iraqi opposition, including insurgents, to begin a political settlement.

If these proposals seem utopian at the moment, the alternative is a continuing hell. The peace movement needs to advocate a peace plan, demand hearings

and debate from Congress, and hold down politicians accountable.

## **Congress wakes up**

Congressional Democrats are beginning to take up an exit strategy, both to put the administration on the defensive and to send a positive message to those who are against the war but worried about the consequences of withdrawal.

In the past eight months, the leaders of the Democratic Party were either out-hawking the Republicans or AWOL from the antiwar struggle. But thanks to many local activists and the Progressive Democrats of America, in the past several months Democratic conventions in California, Wisconsin and Massachusetts passed antiwar resolutions, as did the Young Democrats of America. And a courageous handful of Representatives like Lynn Woolsey (D-Calif.), Barbara Lee (D-Calif.), Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio) and Neal Abercrombie (D-Hawaii) offered withdrawal resolutions. Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) was forced by his colleagues in February to withdraw a similar resolution he had introduced in the Senate. Lately, Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wis.) has taken up the banner of withdrawal by the end of 2006. DNC Chairman Howard Dean has also realized the need for an exit plan, and encouraged congressional hearings.

The changed atmosphere in Washington is symbolized by the public interest in the Downing Street hearings chaired by Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), the antiwar stances of a growing number of House Republicans and the increasing number of co-authors on Woolsey's withdrawal resolution—from 14 to 128. Shortly afterward, Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.) led a backroom rebellion against Minority Leader Rep. Nancy Pelosi's leadership, forming an "out of Iraq" caucus of more than 60 members.

Tens of thousands will be descending on Washington, D.C. for United For Peace and Justice's Anti-War Mobilization on September 24, providing an opportunity for the peace movement to further amplify its message.

That would pose a real complication to the administration when it seeks an-

**“ A key issue for the antiwar movement will be driving home the budgetary costs of the war to local constituencies in congressional districts. ”**

other \$80 billion supplemental appropriation sometime after January. At the moment, the reluctance of elected officials to cut the war funds remains the Bush administration's strongest pillar. But by next year's election their numbers and their discontent will rise, in direct relation to the voices of protest and frustration they hear in their districts.

A key issue for the antiwar movement will be driving home the budgetary costs of the war to local constituencies in congressional districts. One billion dollars per week could purchase health insurance for 46.4 million people, Head Start enrollments for 27 million kids or 8.6 million four-year college scholarships. Such figures are available up-to-the-minute for every budget category for every state at [www.costofwar.com](http://www.costofwar.com). As people learn the facts being kept from them, public support for further funding will shrink.

## Unorthodox alliances

Centrists, moderates or national security types are unlikely to take a strong stand on withdrawal. It is more likely that an antiwar majority will grow from the right and left of the political spectrum.

Together, critics from both sides of the aisle can overcome mainstream caution. The antiwar movement doesn't need the editorial page of the *New York Times* if it has an alliance with conservative members of Congress and their constituents. William Buckley and Pat Buchanan are against this war, along with a silent minority in the armed forces. New converts include representatives like Walter Jones (R-N.C.), who once called for re-naming the French fry the "freedom fry." Having

**Continued on page 35**

# A Turning Point

**Organizers say that September's massive gathering in D.C. will crystallize antiwar sentiment**

BY PHOEBE CONNELLY

United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ) is coordinating a three-day antiwar mobilization on September 24–26 in Washington, D.C. In mid-August, *In These Times* spoke with mobilizing coordinator L.A. Kauffman about preparations for what promises to be an historic event.

## **How did the September "Anti-War Mobilization" come about?**

We've been planning this since the spring. Then, in June, there was major motion in Congress around the war, and a real feeling that the years of antiwar mobilization were finally having an effect in the legislative arena.

Congress has been complicit in this war since day one, and a lot of politicians have not been held to account for their support of Bush's policies. So one key part of the mobilization is a grassroots lobbying day on Monday the 26th, where people will be meeting with their senators and representatives and urging them to speak out against the war. Of course, Bush is ultimately responsible for the war, and as a reflection of that, we will also be holding, on that same day, a large-scale nonviolent direction action at the White House.

## **You're calling it a "mobilization" not a "march." What's different?**

When we say "mobilization" we are talking about the entire package: three days of action. On Saturday the 24th, there will be a short rally, then a massive march at mid-day, and in the late afternoon a concert, "Operation Ceasefire." Throughout the entire day, there will be an antiwar festival on the Washington Monument grounds with tents filled with tables with resources and materials—it's a way for people to plug into campaigns like those countering military recruitment, protesting the use of depleted uranium, and defending immigrant rights and civil liberties.

You know, you often go to marches excited; it's powerful, and inspiring. But it's often not clear what the next step is. We're working to be very integrated with local grassroots organizing, to help those who are outraged plug into the wide range of campaigns they could be a part of on a longer term basis, and give them tools to

intensify their local organizing.

## **In your position paper on the mobilization you say you hope to "go outside our comfort zones and speak to people our movements don't typically reach." How have you done this?**

For too long the Bush administration has tried to hold the moral high ground while waging an immoral war. With Clergy and Laity Concerned About Iraq, we're bringing an antiwar message into churches, synagogues, mosques. Response has been tremendous, has reached a lot of folks who aren't the usual suspects, aren't the classic long-term left-wing activists who attend protests on a regular basis.

We also have massive leafleting operations underway in New York City and Washington, D.C. We're attending summer festivals and street fairs, leafleting at shopping centers, you name it. More than 175,000 leaflets have already been distributed that way, enabling organizers to have one-to-one conversations with people and build grassroots buzz about the mobilization.

## **Cindy Sheehan has stepped forward as a strong, important antiwar figure. Who else should we be watching?**

Cindy Sheehan's grief and emotion are very powerful, but even she will be the first to say that she is only one of many who have lost loved ones in this war. There are numerous other military families and family members of those killed in action who have been speaking out publicly.

A lot of the heroes of this movement are not visible: They're high school students resisting predatory military recruiters, or communities holding weekly antiwar vigils, individuals holding signs and bearing witness. That kind of work is not captured in the media spotlight, but it's been extremely important in steadily building a base of opposition.

There is a real sense that this could be the turning point, that popular opinion has turned so strongly against the war. This mobilization has the potential to take the antiwar movement to the next level, the power to force the administration to bring the troops home. ■



# Echoes of Oslo

**Iraq's new constitution won't change lives unless the conditions of occupation change with it.**

**BY MARK LEVINE**

**I**T IS FITTING THAT THE COMPLEX and tension-filled process of completing Iraq's first "democratically" drafted constitution should occur at the same time that Israel is withdrawing its settlers and soldiers from the Gaza Strip. Both are taking place in the context of a post-9/11, militarized neoliberalism that has created conditions of chaos in Palestinian and Iraqi societies. In such an environment, lasting political progress will require far more than these two symbolic events.

As *In These Times* went to press, the constitutional negotiators had been granted a week's extension to finish their work. The Israeli withdrawal from Gaza appeared more certain, if politically contentious. But the prospects of peace remain dim unless Prime Minister Sharon is willing to match that withdrawal with a near complete relinquishment of the West Bank and a compromise on Palestinian refugees and rights to Jerusalem. For the average Iraqi or Palestinian, these processes will most likely *not* improve their lives unless they constitute the first steps in a much broader process of demilitarization and the creation of a real legal and political framework for peace, equality, independence and sustainable development.

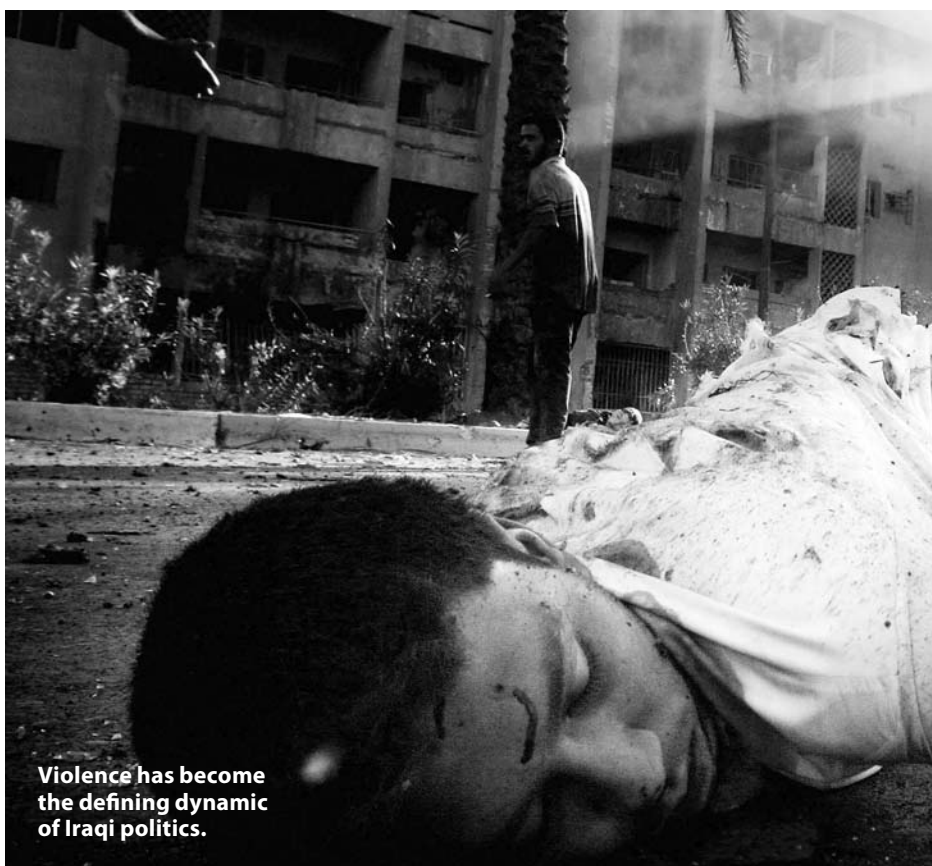
The Iraqi constitutional process has the potential to repeat the understandable but disastrous strategy of Oslo—reach agreements on vague and high-sounding principles, but leave the tough questions for a later date, when developments on the ground will (it is hoped) invest the reconciliation process with

enough momentum for compromises on issues that were off the table at the start.

In addition to the abject failure of the Oslo method of conflict resolution, it is hard to imagine Sunnis, who have lost so much they have little left to lose, Shiites, who have gained unprecedented power and have little reason to compromise, and Kurds, most of whom want an independent Kurdistan (and who can blame them?), making the hard compromises that would be necessary to secure a united and peaceful Iraq. And so the Oslofication of Iraqi politics—and escalating cycles of violence—will likely be the reality for the near future.

## Managed chaos

Violence has become the defining dynamic of Iraqi politics. It is hard to adequately describe the stifling fear that pervades everyday life in Iraq since the U.S. invasion and especially since the explosion of the insurgency. For women, the violence has slammed shut the door of the public sphere, as the risks of taking to the streets and even traveling alone are too great to enable systematic political activism and campaigns. This has meant that the only people who can regularly take to the streets are young, angry and armed religious men. Building a progressive political culture is impossible in such a climate, and that will not change—no matter the



**Violence has become the defining dynamic of Iraqi politics.**

GHAIATH ABDUL-AHAD/GETTY IMAGES



**“ What if the chaos that has taken over Iraq is not the result of massive U.S. incompetence, but is actually a structural necessity for the achievement of U.S. strategic aims? ”**

wording of the constitution—unless the insurgency and the U.S. presence wind down in the near future.

The role that the U.S. presence plays in fostering violence in Iraq raises a fundamental question barely touched upon by the discussions surrounding the constitution: What if the chaos that has taken over Iraq is not merely the result of massive U.S. incompetence and poor planning, but is actually a structural necessity for the achievement of U.S. strategic aims in the country? In other words, how does the insurgency support the retention of permanent military bases and the wholesale liberalization of the Iraqi economy?

The idea of “sponsored” or “managed” chaos as a defining characteristic of contemporary neoliberalism has already been demonstrated by scholars working on Africa, the former Soviet Union, and other locations along the “arc of instability”—an arc that happens to contain some of the world’s most petroleum rich and politically unstable countries. The main thrust of this argument is that the coming “Age of Peak Oil” makes it strategically necessary for the United States to maintain a long-term military presence in Iraq, and thus have unrestricted influence over its vast oil reserves. In an environment where the vast majority of Iraqis oppose both these goals, creating a situation of violence and instability becomes a logical—and perhaps the only feasible—way to secure them.

Ironically, this dynamic interacts with the constitutional negotiations precisely by being largely absent from the discussions and debates over it. Lost in most

of the discussions is whether the constitution will prohibit or allow any foreign country (in this case, the United States) to have permanent bases, which is clearly opposed by the vast majority of Arab Iraqis. But as long as the violent insurgency continues, the Shiite majority government cannot risk asking the United States to leave. Therefore, a serious but manageable insurgency becomes the most viable way to ensure that, by the time the Iraqis work out their differences, the United States has half a dozen or more permanent bases constructed and that legal impediments to their presence are no longer an issue.

**The economy’s “new order”**

Most mainstream discussions of the constitutional negotiations have also neglected the establishment of a legal structure under the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) during the April 2003 to June 2004 period when it was the U.N.-recognized governing authority in Iraq. This structure mandated the wholesale privatization of Iraq’s economy. The early policies of the CPA—firing hundreds of thousands of Iraqi workers, completely opening the country’s borders to tariff-free foreign trade, L. Paul Bremer’s handing down of “Orders,” particularly Orders 18, 39, 40 and 49—made this process possible. In particular, the orders mandated the privatization of state-owned enterprises; allowed 100 percent foreign ownership of all businesses except oil; permitted foreign firms the same privileges as domestic companies; allowed unrestricted tax-free transfers of profits out of the country; and placed the duration of foreign ownership licenses at 40 years.

From my discussions with Iraqi academics, politicians and activists, it’s clear that most understood that these orders would not benefit Iraqis. But few felt they had the power to fight the United States on this issue in the near future, or could devote much time to building public support for their repeal during the negotiations over the constitution. As Iraqi economist Sabri Zire al-Saadi told me, “Little attention has been given to the role of economic policy”—perhaps true for Iraqis, but

certainly not for the American neocons most behind the invasion of Iraq.

An initial draft of the constitution did return Iraq to something resembling a social welfare state that would have guaranteed maternal and child health benefits, childcare, education, and most important, state control over its natural resources. But it appears that these provisions were removed or severely watered down. While most news reports will skip over the importance of these provisions, their final form could well determine the future of Iraq.

Most Iraqis in public life know this. But they’ve been prevented from spending time on issues such as economic policy or the question of permanent military bases precisely because it’s an all-consuming task just to stay alive in the midst of a burgeoning insurgency, U.S. violence and mismanagement of the country’s infrastructure and democratic transition, and a potential civil war. Indeed, this dynamic also has affected the way the Arab and even Iraqi press has reported on these core issues, as a review of the main international Arab and Iraqi papers during the final period of constitutional negotiations revealed little discussion of them.

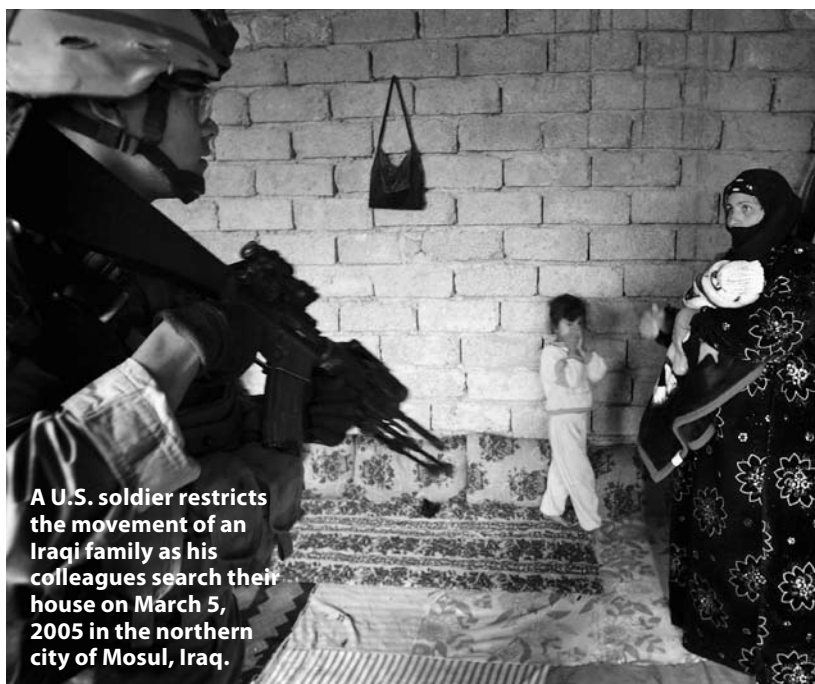
And so, as the constitutional negotiations dragged on, not even those most closely following these issues had any idea how, if at all, they would be addressed, or whether any language that is ultimately agreed upon can change the dynamic on the ground. The United States aggravates the situation through its continuing control over the vast bulk of reconstruction funds, which are channeled to corporations with ties to the Bush administration and their Iraqi clients.

What is sure is that what U.S. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad describes as the “new order” created during the tumultuous summer of 2005 will in many ways be the same as the old one. If so, Iraqis will likely not be joining their leaders in the celebration of any lone, single accomplishment. ■

**MARK LEVINE** is a professor of modern Middle Eastern history, culture and Islamic studies at the University of California, Irvine, and the author of *Why They Don’t Hate Us: Lifting the Veil on the Axis of Evil*.

# Beyond the “Vietnam Syndrome”

BY NORMAN SOLOMON



A U.S. soldier restricts the movement of an Iraqi family as his colleagues search their house on March 5, 2005 in the northern city of Mosul, Iraq.

GHAITH ABDUL-AHAD/GETTY IMAGES

**T**HE SPECTER OF VIETNAM HAS BEEN BURIED FOREVER IN THE DESERT sands of the Arabian peninsula,” President George H. W. Bush said of the Gulf War victory in early 1991. He told a gathering of state legislators, “It’s a proud day for America—and, by God, we’ve kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all.”

Often discussed by news media, the “Vietnam syndrome” usually has a negative connotation, implying knee-jerk opposition to military involvement. Yet public backing for a war has much to do with duration and justification. A year after the invasion of Iraq began, Noam Chomsky observed: “Polls have demonstrated time and time again that Americans are willing to accept a high death toll—although they don’t like it, they’re willing to accept it—if they think it’s a just cause. There’s never been anything like the so-called Vietnam syndrome: it’s mostly a fabrication. And in this case too if they thought it was a just cause, the 500 or so [American] deaths would be mourned, but not considered a dominant reason for not continuing. No, the problem is the justice of the cause.”

Overall, if history is any guide, most Americans are inclined to favor just about any war after it starts—in the short run—but if the war drags on and loses its rationale in the public mind, support is apt to plummet. “World War II support levels never fell below 77 percent, despite the prolonged and damaging nature of the conflict,” writes Chris Hedges in his book *What Every Person Should Know About War*. In contrast, he adds, “the Korean and Vietnam Wars ended with support levels near 30 percent.” The American public’s initially high levels of support for the Iraq war have fallen sharply as bloodshed continues and Washington’s prewar lies become more apparent. In a recent poll conducted by CNN, *USA Today* and the Gallup organization, 54 percent of respondents said that the United States made a mistake in sending troops to Iraq.

## You fight them

Thirty-five years before President George W. Bush assured the American public that like-minded Iraqis would take up the burdens of fighting and dying as the occupation of their country wore on, President Richard Nixon unveiled a doctrine envisioning that more soldiers of Asian allies would die in place of American troops.

During a visit to Guam in July 1969, Nixon announced that the U.S. government “would furnish military and economic assistance when requested in accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility for its defense.” A year after Nixon proclaimed his ballyhooed doctrine, amounting to let’s-you-and-them-fight, I. F. Stone wrote: “White House briefers speak of abandoning our world policeman role, but the alternative they offer is not a revitalized U.N. but the so-called Guam Doctrine. This is imperialism by proxy. We may be on the verge of imposing quotas against the Orient’s low-wage textiles but we are eager to buy its low-wage soldier-power. The Guam Doctrine will be seen in Asia as a rich white man’s idea of fighting a war: we handle the elite airpower while coolies do the killing on the ground.”

To ease stateside worries about U.S. troops being entangled in continuing warfare, the White House is eager to convey that the military burden will increasingly rest on the broadening shoulders of the people who live in the country at stake. Yet Stone’s July 1970 essay concluded presciently: “Not enough Asians are going to fight Asians for us even if the price is right.”

A third of a century after Stone’s prediction, an observer of the war in Iraq would have a strong basis to forecast that “not enough Arabs are going to fight Arabs for us.” After disbanding Saddam Hussein’s army, the Pentagon tried to build a new one, but a year into the occupation the recruit numbers were low—just 10 percent of the 40,000 target level. After half of the initial battalion quit in December 2003, a pay raise helped in retaining soldiers. Nevertheless, the occupying authorities were let down

the following spring, as the *Wall Street Journal* reported: "When the second battalion was pressed last week to fight Sunni insurgents alongside Marines ... in Fallujah, soldiers refused, saying they had signed up to defend Iraq from foreign threats, not fight fellow Iraqis."

## Democracy versus policy

In effect, condemnations of "the Vietnam syndrome" attempt to promote the legitimacy of at least two wars at once—the past one in Vietnam and the war that's currently underway (or future wars). To boosters of U.S. military intervention, the United States will triumph if only it is willing to show enough resolve.

But the U.S. government's problems in Iraq after the invasion, as in Vietnam, are intimately related to the basic realities—and the actual merits—of the war itself. The eagerness of so many supposed beneficiaries of American intervention to eject the occupiers was pivotal, not coincidental: It corresponded to the weakness of the U.S. warmakers' position in multiple, concentric ways. At the core of the war's long-term lack of viability (or "winnabil-

ity") was the hollowness of Washington's claims, not the least of which were—and are—the pretensions of benevolence and zeal to foster a new democratic government for the benighted land.

Rhetoric aside, democracy in Iraq would run counter to U.S. policy priorities. "From the start," the *Wall Street Journal* noted in April 2004, "the effort to build a government was marked by unresolved tension between political leaders who are palatable to the U.S. but have little public support in Iraq, and religious figures who have the biggest popular followings but also hold religious views that alarm American policy makers."

Stated another way, it is a classic imperial problem, with the occupiers seeking to retain control of an Iraqi government, while most of the people have very different ideas about who they want their leaders to be.

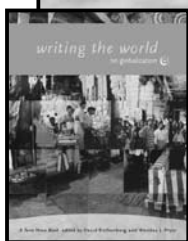
A year after a Saddam statue dramatically fell in Baghdad, some of the tyrant's bitterest enemies were firing rocket-propelled grenades at American troops. The turn of events—the launch of a fierce Shiite insurrection against the occupiers—

**“ Iraq is a classic imperial problem, with the occupiers seeking to retain control while most people have a very different idea of who they want their leaders to be. ”**

undermined many of the basic claims from administration officials who had been preening themselves as liberators.

As the president and appointees tried to paper over the vast disconnects between Washington's narrative and emerging realities in Iraq, the rhetoric was familiar stuff, the foreign-policy rough equivalent of whistling past graveyards. In an April 2004 piece headlined "A War President's Job," George Will cut to the chase with a revised logic for the

## New books from The MIT Press



### Writing the World

**On Globalization**

edited by David Rothenberg and Wande J. Pryor

Essays, memoirs, poems, and stories by writers including Arundhati Roy, Bill McKibben, and Naomi Klein, examining globalization as a worldwide exchange of art and ideas.

now in paperback

### The Coming Generational Storm

**What You Need to Know**

**About America's Economic Future**

Laurence J. Kotlikoff and Scott Burns

"I lie awake nights worrying about the fiscal crisis described in *The Coming Generational Storm*. This is by far the single most important problem in US economic policy. Every American should read this fabulous book."

— George Akerlof, University of California, Berkeley, Nobel Laureate in Economic Sciences (2001)



### Interrogation Machine

**Laibach and NSK**

Alexei Monroe

foreword by Slavoj Žižek

The first English-language study of NSK—one of the contemporary art world's most radical forces—with particular focus on the performances and productions of NSK's musical and conceptual division, Laibach.



### At a Distance

**Precursors to Art and Activism on the Internet**

edited by Annmarie Chandler and Norie Neumark

"The book is an exhilarating, eye-opening read that restores the body to the virtual and pulls the virtual out of the digital and back into lived and produced social relations." — Patricia R. Zimmermann, Ithaca College



To order call 800-405-1619.  
<http://mitpress.mit.edu>



occupation. “In the war against the militias,” Will wrote, “every door American troops crash through, every civilian bystander shot—there will be many—will make matters worse, for a while. Nevertheless, the first task of the occupation remains the first task of government: to establish a monopoly on violence.”

Despite all the belated media exposure of the Bush administration’s prewar deceptions about Iraq, the public was seeing a familiar limited spectrum of responses in mainstream U.S. media—many liberals wringing their hands, many conservatives rubbing their hands—at the sight of military escalation. In almost ritualistic fashion, numerous commentators reacted by criticizing the president for policy flaws. A *New York Times* editorial lamented that Washington “and its occupation partners” were “in real danger of handing over a meaningless badge of sovereignty to a government that is divided internally, is regarded as illegitimate by the people and has no means other than foreign armies in Iraq to enforce its authority.” Such careful language was notable for what it emphatically refused to say: Get U.S. troops out of Iraq.

### Protective stupidity

Part of the process was for major U.S. news media to simultaneously acknowledge and deny fundamental contradictions between the Bush administration’s rhetoric about democracy and its actual policies. In his novel *1984*, George Orwell wrote about a process that “in short, means protective stupidity”—an approach that involves “holding two contradictory beliefs in one’s mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them.”

By April 2004, the planet’s only superpower was straining to tighten a grip on Iraq while turning concepts of national autonomy into national abnegation. Not coincidentally, a *New York Times* story that pegged “self-rule” for Iraq to June 30 appeared under the headline “General Says He May Ask for More Troops.”

During the ’60s, the ask-for-more-troops shuffle was a morbid art form in Washington as President Lyndon Johnson, General William Westmoreland, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff steadily upped the numbers of soldiers being packed



off to Vietnam. During the spring and early summer of 1965, Johnson considered—and then decided to okay—a request from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to add 100,000 more troops to supplement the 75,000 already in some stage of Vietnam deployment. But at a news conference on July 28, 1965, Johnson dissembled and merely announced a decision to send an additional 50,000 soldiers. Nor did he disclose that deploying a total of approximately 400,000 troops in Vietnam was under serious consideration.

LBJ was heeding advice from something called a “Special National Security Estimate”—a secret document issued days earlier about the already-approved new deployment, urging that “in order to mitigate somewhat the crisis atmosphere that would result from this major U.S. action ... announcements about it be made piecemeal with no more high-level emphasis than necessary.” Translation: Avoid upsetting the American public more than unavoidable.

History will record the spring of 2004 as a time when the Bush administration was not forthcoming about the outlook for American troop deployments in Iraq. Such duplicity has continued.

### Iraq syndrome and beyond

When a country—particularly a democracy—goes to war, the tacit consent

of the governed lubricates the machinery. There remains a kind of spectator relationship to military actions being implemented in our names. We’re apt to crave the insulation that news outlets offer. We tell ourselves that our personal lives are difficult enough without getting too upset about world events.

“Anyone who has the power to make you believe absurdities has the power to make you commit injustices,” Voltaire wrote. A quarter of a millennium later, Voltaire’s statement is all too relevant to this moment. As an astute cliché says, truth is the first casualty of war. But another early casualty is conscience. And for many Americans, the gap between what they believe and what’s on their TV sets is the distance between their truer selves and their fearful passivity.

Conscience is not on the military’s radar screen, and it’s not on our television screen. But government officials and media messages do not define the limits and possibilities of conscience. We do. ■

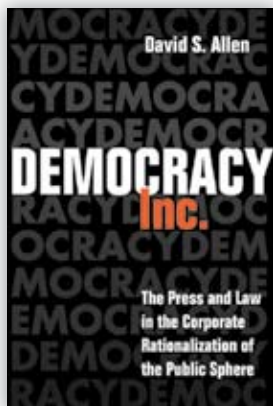
**NORMAN SOLOMON** is the founder and executive director of the Institute for Public Accuracy, a national consortium of policy researchers. His most recent book is *War Made Easy: How Presidents and Pundits Keep Spinning Us to Death* (John Wiley & Sons), from which this article was adapted.





# UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

Available from your bookseller; call 800-537-5487; or visit [www.press.uillinois.edu](http://www.press.uillinois.edu)



Cloth, \$30.00

## Democracy, Inc.

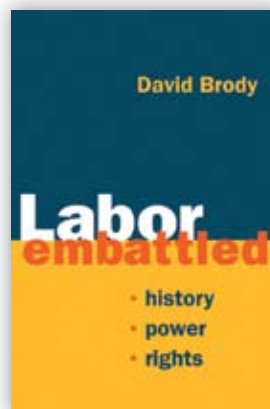
The Press and Law in the Corporate Rationalization of the Public Sphere

DAVID S. ALLEN

*The History of Communication series*

How the subversive infiltration of corporate values damages public discourse in the United States, limiting democratic involvement by devaluing discursive principles, creating an informed yet inactive public.

## The Working Class in American History series



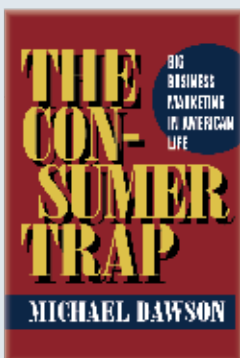
Cloth, \$40.00; Paper, \$20.00

## Labor Embattled

History, Power, Rights  
DAVID BRODY

Scrutinizes how the ideals of free labor, free speech, freedom of association, and freedom of contract have been interpreted and canonized in ways that unfailingly reduce the capacity for workers' collective action while silently removing impediments to employers coercion of workers.

## New in Paper



Illus. Paper, \$17.95

## The Consumer Trap

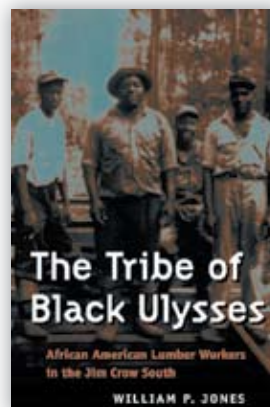
Big Business Marketing in American Life

MICHAEL DAWSON

*The History of Communication series*

"Lays bare some of the most important developments of the twentieth century: the ways in which the sophisticated and self-conscious 'class coercion' designed by and for business leaders passed beyond meticulous management of the workplace to 'manipulating people's off-the-job perceptions and actions.'"

— Noam Chomsky

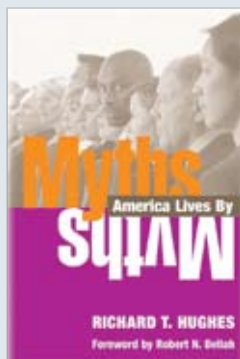


Illus. Cloth, \$45.00; Paper, \$20.00

## The Tribe of Black Ulysses

African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South  
WILLIAM P. JONES

Explores black men and women's changing relationship to industrial work, revealing that industrial employment was not incompatible—as previous historians have assumed—with the racial segregation and political disfranchisement that defined African American life in the Jim Crow South.



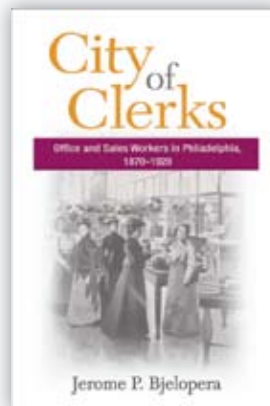
Paper, \$19.95

## Myths America Lives By

RICHARD T. HUGHES

*Foreword by Robert N. Bellah*

Hughes identifies the five key myths that lie at the heart of the American experience, showing that by canonizing these seemingly harmless myths of national identity as absolute truths, America risks undermining the sweepingly egalitarian promise of the Declaration of Independence.



Illus. Cloth, \$45.00; Paper, \$22.00

## City of Clerks

Office and Sales Workers in Philadelphia, 1870-1920

JEROME P. BJELOPERA

Describes the educational goals, workplace cultures, leisure activities, and living situations that melded disparate groups of young men and women into a new "white collar" class of clerks and salespeople.

# ALL A PART NOW



## Unions sacrifice solidarity in their quest to be more effective.

BY DAVID MOBERG

**T**HE OLD HYMN OF ORGANIZED labor—"Solidarity Forever"—has rarely seemed less appropriate. Three big unions recently left the AFL-CIO to forge a coalition with four other unions under the banner of Change to Win (CTW), which is launching an alternative federation in late September. It makes the lyrics about labor unity ring a bit hollow.

But old as it is, the idea that strength for workers comes through collective empathy and action is still the strategic heart of the labor movement. And despite hard feelings on both sides, the split itself reflects an ongoing search for the most effective forms of solidarity in a world where global corporations and

global labor markets rule, employment is becoming less secure, and the sentiments of mutual support among American workers have been diminished by market-driven culture and politics.

The challenge for unions is not simply to organize more workers, although that is crucial if labor is to regain power. It is to create relationships of understanding, support and action among workers at various levels—in their workplaces, industries and occupations; with fellow employees of far-flung corporations; in the community; at different levels of government and politics; and internationally.

Much of the fight leading up to the July AFL-CIO convention was ostensibly about the structure of the labor move-

ment—mergers, jurisdictions and dues rebates. In the end, the CTW unions said that the changes AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and his supporters were willing to make weren't big enough. The Sweeney camp retorted that the remaining differences were minimal, but the CTW unions left because other unions would not guarantee that Sweeney would step down early and let them pick his successor.

Now the question is not just how much the split will hurt the labor movement but whether either side can find a way to make the movement a bigger and more effective political force for working people.

The split may disrupt political mobilization of union members, but it is not a big ideological rupture. Unions on both

sides of the divide, for example, pointedly attacked the 15 Democrats who voted for the Central American Free Trade Agreement. And both also insist they want to be more bipartisan—as if there are many pro-labor Republicans to support.

## Poach or perish?

But the threat remains that the split could lead to organizational raiding. For example, SEIU, the lead union in CTW, is recruiting domestic childcare workers away from a California branch of AFSCME (public employees), the largest union remaining in the AFL-CIO. Meanwhile, AFSCME could launch retaliatory raids elsewhere against SEIU.

The CTW unions had urged other unions to work out common organizing strategies for every major industry, and the AFL-CIO responded with plans for Industry Coordinating Councils. But it's hard to see how CTW unions can follow their own prescription to build an array of industry-focused unions. Some unions, like the Teamsters, are very general and not focused on an industry, and the CTW coalition would have to form new unions to have broad coverage. And the AFL-CIO may also have difficulty establishing its Industry Coordinating Councils (though the healthcare, entertainment, and airline industries appear promising). Many AFL-CIO union leaders remain skeptical about the councils or, like Machinist president Tom Buffenbarger, believe unions already are adequately coordinated.

Even the rebates of dues to support organizing that the AFL-CIO offered as a counterproposal to CTW may become moot. "I don't need it. I don't want it. I won't take it," Painters President James Williams says of the rebate. Much of the potential rebate money could support some large-scale campaign, but with the UFCW gone, it's not likely to be against Wal-Mart, despite a convention resolution supporting such an effort. In coming months the AFL-CIO will concentrate on organizing nationwide actions on December 10, International Human Rights Day, in support of the right to organize.

The CTW unions argue that even without new legislation unions can win

new large-scale organizing campaigns now. "The fundamental difference is about whether we can grow our way out of this crisis," says SEIU Vice President Tom Woodruff, who is heading up CTW organizing plans. The big question is how to reach the scale needed.

Nobody knows what could trigger a new upsurge to overcome the current high costs of organizing. Larry Cohen, executive vice president of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), argues, "In every country with a rise of collective bargaining rate recently [such as Taiwan, Korea, South Africa and Brazil], the increase is tied to a political movement for democracy." Big, successful organizing campaigns could be part of such a movement, especially if unions were willing to risk civil disobedience and disruptive action to protest shackles on the right to organize.

## Recent successes

Despite the obstacles, both CTW and AFL-CIO unions have undertaken big campaigns, which exemplify different ways to employ worker solidarity. UNITE HERE has a major organizing drive against Cintas, an industrial laundry giant led by a rabidly anti-union executive, Richard Farmer. And during newly created national hotel bargaining next year, the union is likely to demand that hotel chains remain neutral in organizing drives and recognize the union when a majority signs up.

SEIU has just won such neutrality and card-check arrangements for nearly 6,000 janitors in Houston, who were supported by janitors in unionized cities that respected their traveling picket lines. Working through a recently established joint local, United Service Workers, SEIU and UNITE HERE have also targeted global multi-service companies, such as Sodexo, that offer services from food preparation to building maintenance. SEIU, which used Swedish union support to win a neutrality pledge from the multinational building security firm, Securitas, is planning a new international campaign to organize the industry.

With Cingular's purchase of AT&T Wireless, the CWA hopes to extend their neutrality and card check agreement

with Cingular to organize potentially 10,000 new workers. In New York, the Teachers' union is working with the community group ACORN (which has partnered with SEIU, AFSCME and CWA, thus crossing the current split) to organize 52,000 home day care workers. And in several New York neighborhoods, the Retail, Wholesale division of UFCW is trying to organize entire neighborhood shopping districts in one campaign.

Woodruff hopes CTW will not only support a campaign against Wal-Mart but other large-scale organizing projects in retail and fast foods (such as at Home Depot or McDonald's). "The goal is not just organizing," he said, "but to raise standards, to create a new middle class out of jobs that will stay in this country." Another organizer close to the AFL-CIO puts it this way: "Everybody agrees we need to organize faster and smarter. That there's a group outside the fed makes us feel the imperative to do so on a bigger scale and more effectively."

## No easy answers

Solidarity at the state and local level remains a problem. In response to worries about federation rules that locals of disaffiliated unions could not belong to central labor councils or state federations, Sweeney offered a way for them to continue their membership. But the conditions—including a special assessment and rules for locals and their officers—were unacceptable to the CTW unions. To a degree, each side of the split is trying to shift the responsibility for breaking up the solidarity at the state and local level to the other side. But destroying the effective state and local labor groups established with great effort during the past decade over the national strategic battle serves no worker's interest.

"Hopefully, one of us is right," UNITE HERE President John Wilhelm says of the split. "If the AFL-CIO is wrong, and we're wrong, then workers' lives in this country are ruined." But it may be that each side has some of the truth. What is needed is openness to every way of strengthening solidarity. Without that, workers—and the labor movement—could indeed be ruined. ■





MIKE CLARKE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# China's Press Crackdown

The broadening of economic reforms in China has been met with greater restrictions on journalists.

BY JEHANGIR S. POCHA

**C**HINA'S COMMUNISTS TAKE PRIDE in turning established ideas on their heads. Their latest success has been in toppling the notion that free markets create free societies.

Though China is the fastest growing economy in the world, censorship and limits on freedom of expression are on the increase as the government struggles to contain growing unrest across the country.

New regulations issued by China's State Council in late July prevent theater companies and artists from performing works that "oppose the basic principles of the constitution that place the Communist Party as the ruling party."

According to the new rules, commercial performances should also refrain from performances that "are deemed harmful to the state ... endanger state unity, sovereignty or territorial integrity, [or] endanger state security or the honor or interests of the state," reported the official newspaper of China's Communist Party, *The People's Daily*.

Foreign entertainment enterprises have

been barred from running song, dance or theater groups, and local visits by foreign performers will require collaboration with Chinese partners. In June, the government reversed a rule that allowed local media firms to enter into partnerships with overseas media firms and tightened controls on foreign media companies operating in China.

The moves come in the wake of rising social and political unrest, which senior leaders here see as a threat to their control and national stability.

## New media, old mores

In recent months, hundreds of riots by groups as diverse as retirees demanding withheld pensions, farmers protesting land seizures, citizens incensed by government corruption and ethnic minorities inflamed by prejudice have rocked different parts of China. The worst trouble came on June 16, when thugs in Shenyong, about 50 miles from Beijing, attacked locals resisting a forced buyout of their land, killing six people and injuring about 50.

Authorities had tried to censor news of the unrest by sealing off the affected areas and detaining journalists trying to cover the situation. But with 100 million people in China now connected to the Internet and more than 330 million owning cell phones, news of the violence spread quickly across the country.

In response, existing controls on the Internet, such as intrusive monitoring of chat rooms by human censors and advanced filtering techniques developed with help from U.S. corporations such as Cisco, are being stepped up, especially during sensitive times. The government is so blasé about the censorship that it uses state-controlled media to spread word of it.

The Ministry of Public Security has also announced plans to roll out a software program developed by Venus Information Technology, a local company, that will monitor cell phone text messages. Plans to create a network of 100 satellites capable of monitoring every inch of Chinese territory by 2020 are also in place. In addition to monitoring the environment and urban growth, the network would monitor "various activities of so-

ciety,” Shao Liqin, an official in the ministry of science and technology, recently said.

China is also “more successful than any other country” in censoring the Web, according to a recent report by Harvard Law School’s Berkman Center for Internet and Society.

More than 250,000 Web sites—including those of major Western media and non-governmental organizations—cannot be accessed. An estimated 30,000 human monitors scan e-mail, Google searches, and chat sites such as MSN and Yahoo, and troll online groups and blogs to find offending information. Individuals identified for “seditious” online activity are often arrested, as was the case with Zhang Shengqi, a 23-year-old student arrested for publicly supporting the Roman Catholic Church, which is banned in China.

The traditional press fares little better. Local journalists who report on topics that meet “with the Government’s or local authorities’ disapproval suffer harassment, detention and imprisonment,” says Susan W. O’Sullivan, senior advisor for Asia in the U.S. State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. As a result, China has the highest number of imprisoned journalists in the world—at least 42, according to the New York-based Committee for the Protection of Journalists. Last year, Yu Huafeng and Li Minying, editors at the Guangdong Province’s *Southern Metropolitan Daily* newspaper, which had published a series of critical articles about the local government’s management of SARS, were sentenced to 12 years in jail on flimsy corruption charges.

## The crackdown escalates

The jitters sent through the government by recent protests are leading to the implementation of even more intrusive and innovative censorship and control tools. The vigor with which these have been implemented has surprised even some of the Communist Party’s harshest critics.

“It’s like going back to 1989,” says a survivor from the massacre that took place at Tiananmen Square that year. (He asked that his identity remain shielded.) “I didn’t expect it.”

Among the Chinese journalists arrested over the last year were well-known personalities such as Chen Min, chief editorial writer at *China Reform* magazine, who wrote under the pseudonym Xiao Shu, and Shi Tao, a journalist with *Contemporary Trade News*.

Their crimes were relatively mild. Xiao riled authorities with his essay “The Most Disgusting Day,” which criticized the government’s detention of Ding Zilin, an activist with the Tiananmen Square Mothers group whose 17-year-old son was killed in the 1989

translators who work with international journalists are also being called in for “de-briefings” by local security services.

However, some of China’s new media-control plans are focusing more on shaping opinion rather than controlling it. One such plan calls for government operatives to infiltrate Internet chat groups where criticism of the government is rising and improve the Communist Party’s image by posting pro-government propaganda, reported *Southern Weekend*, a newspaper based in southern Guangzhou province.

The plan has already been operational in Suqian city in the eastern province of Jiangsu since April. The infiltrators are government officials who have been carefully selected by Suqian city’s official propaganda department on the basis of their “understanding of [political] theories and political reliability,” the weekly said.

“We will guide public opinion as ordinary netizens,” Ma Zhi-chun, one of the recruited commentators, was quoted as saying.

And while China’s earlier political reforms gave people significant personal freedoms and mostly left only political controls in place, now even that is changing.

Books about sexual freedom and rights have also come under increased censorship, says Mu Zimei, a young woman whose book of personal sexual revelation, *Yi Qing Shu* (A Book of Lost Love) was recently banned.

“Change threatens,” she says. “Today, there are rules of the game in place to order society. When someone like me breaks these rules [and] advocates new

ones, it’s seen as dangerous. I am seen to have betrayed my own society when in fact I feel like I am helping it.”

Chu Tian, a journalist associated with *Southern Weekend* who was made to leave the publication under official pressure, says that like many other journalists and activists he’s learned to couch his words and use allegory or metaphors when writing about controversial issues. “It’s like getting the ping-pong ball to just nick the table. You get to make the point, but barely,” he says. “Luckily, readers have learnt how to decode what we say, to read our real feelings.” ■



Protesters demand increased press freedoms at a July 31 demonstration in Hong Kong.

TED ALJIBE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

massacre. Many domestic journalists say they are now being warned against writing even relatively innocuous stories, such as on China’s recent revaluation of its currency.

Significantly, pressure on foreign journalists, who were hitherto treated with kid gloves, is also rising. In September 2004, Zhao Yan, a research assistant for the *New York Times*, was arrested and charged with revealing state secrets, which carries a maximum sentence of death if he is convicted. Younger correspondents here now joke that getting detained is a sure way of earning distinction. Local assistants and



# Shooting Down the Breeze

The promise of wind power has been impeded by species-protection scandals and a lack of public trust.

BY MISCHA GAUS

**F**ACED WITH NEWS THAT ITS WIND turbines were killing thousands of bats at two wind farms on Appalachian mountain ridgelines, the nation's largest wind power company reacted quickly.

The company, FPL Energy, barred scientists from pursuing follow-up work, pulled their \$75,000 contribution from the research cooperative studying bat mortality and ended the doctoral work of a graduate student who had produced two years of data showing unusually high rates of bat death at the sites.

The move stunned bat biologists and conservationists who had joined a cooperative scientific effort with the company. Known as the Bat and Wind Energy Cooperative, it is made up of industry members, government agencies and bat researchers. The group released a peer-reviewed study in June that estimated up to 2,900 bats died last fall at the farms in West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The company's decision rejected the study's favored recommendation, which proposed shutting down selected turbines briefly at the sites to see if stationary blades would reduce bat fatalities.

"This is an argument on economics," says Ed Arnett, a conservation scientist who directed the cooperative's work, because halting some turbines for the bat study would marginally affect power production.

But the company may be even more concerned with the prece-

dent the recommendation sets: If stopping blades during certain weather conditions and times of day dramatically cuts bat death, wind power companies could be forced to implement similar restrictions on other turbines in the region. About 700 turbines have been approved or proposed to be built in the mid-Atlantic.

FPL Energy spokesman Steve Stengel disputes that the company is stymieing research, noting that its contribution hinged on the type of research conducted, and that scientists were only offered access to the company's property to pursue the approaches it supported. But bat biologists within and outside the research cooperative disparage the company's solution—acoustic deterrents to drive bats away—saying that it's unproven and potentially counterproductive.

"My judgment is that they really don't want to know the answer," says Tom Kunz, a bat biologist at Boston University who sits on the cooperative's scientific advisory panel.

The controversy casts doubt on how wind power, championed as the greenest of renewable energy sources, will overcome a lack of public trust as it rapidly expands.

## Puny, but promising

The environmental credentials of wind power are remarkable. Besides producing no air pollution or carbon dioxide, wind power does not clear forests, flood canyons, poison soil, or leave behind permanent or toxic waste.

"If we want to be around as long as other civilizations have lasted, we need to think ahead 1,000 years," says James Manwell, director of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst's Renewable Energy Research Laboratory. "And you can't do it with coal, oil or nuclear."

Currently, wind power is tiny in the United States, responsible for less than 1 percent of energy production. The nation

has about 16,000 wind turbines producing enough electricity for 1.6 million households, according the American Wind Energy Association.

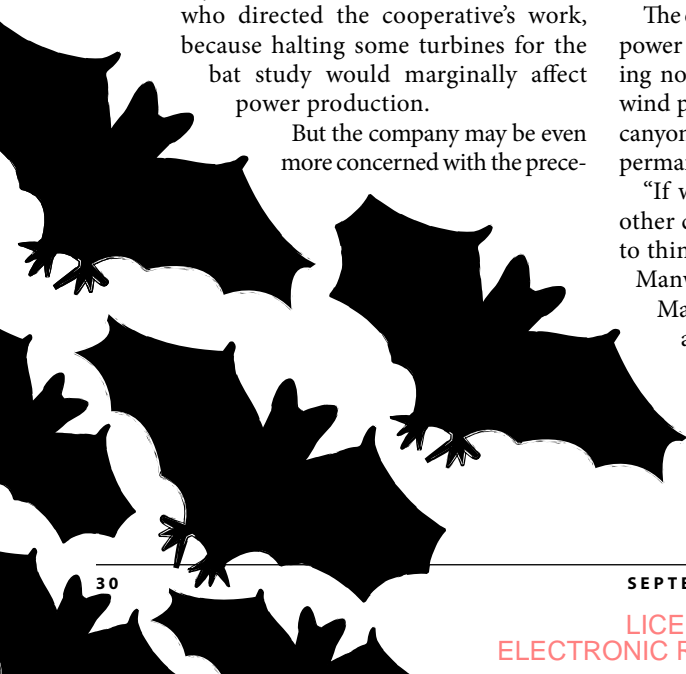
Since the days of homemade, backyard windmills, the technology of wind energy has advanced dramatically, with efficiency improving about 5 percent every year. New turbines can rise as tall as a 40-story building, produce power at wind speeds around 13 mph and generate as much as 4.5 megawatts of electricity—enough for 1,200 households.

Federal support for the industry is still dwarfed by the \$18.4 billion in subsidies that the nonpartisan group Taxpayers for Common Sense estimates the coal, oil, gas and nuclear power industries will receive in the recently-signed energy bill. But thanks in part to a federal tax credit extended two more years by the energy bill, the industry is growing tremendously, by as much as a third this year alone. Some estimates predict it will produce 6 percent of the country's power by 2020. The technology is decentralized—making it harder to attack or disrupt—viable across large swaths of the country and, with the tax credit, the most affordable way to produce renewable energy available today.

## Growing pains

But despite this promise, wind power has been plagued by persistent problems with wildlife. While wildlife-impact studies have established no significant impact across swaths of the Midwest and West, the deaths of birds of prey at wind harvesting farms in northern California's Altamont Pass have led to a lawsuit and negative publicity worldwide. An investigation into reports of bat deaths on an Oklahoma wind farm was quashed by FPL Energy's research ban, and another site in Tennessee will also go unstudied.

With the growth of wind power, industry habits have emerged that trouble the scientists trying to understand why wildlife collide with turbines.







In August, researchers at England's University of Birmingham released a survey of all wildlife-impact studies worldwide that hammered wind companies, saying they settle for poor-quality science and restrict access to their data on economic grounds.

"They're used to working with consultants, so the industry owns the data," says Jessica Kerns, the University of Maryland doctoral student whose degree was cut short. "It's a kind of a rough position to be in. You never really know that the ground is solid underneath you."

Consolidation is also following the industry's expansion. Major corporations, like Shell, General Electric and John Deere, are moving into wind, chasing contracts enabled by state laws mandating that minimum percentages of power must come from renewable sources.

Some conservationists welcome wind's consolidation. Jeff Miller is Bay Area wildlands coordinator for the Center for Biological Diversity, one of the groups suing wind companies in the Altamont Pass. He says some of the smallest companies have been most intransigent and that size matters less than recognition of larger environmental responsibility. "Companies that aren't going to address this in their business plan aren't going to sur-

vive out there," he says.

The decisions of a few executives at these corporations dramatically affect the fortunes of wind power. One company, Winergy, set off panic along the Eastern seaboard when it announced plans—before meeting shoreline residents or policymakers—to install almost 3,000 offshore turbines. The company has yet to actually build anything, but its flurry of press releases was enough to prompt New Jersey to place a 15-month moratorium on offshore wind turbines.

### Strange bedfellows

Opposition to wind power has its predictable sources, like the Cato Institute, which receives part of its funding from oil companies, and Glenn Schleede, a former senior vice president for the National Coal Association, who has since moved on to a career as a freelance hitman set on whacking renewable energy sources.

But to the continuing delight of such foes, opposition also comes from environmentalists, whether the head of Maryland's Audubon group or Robert Kennedy Jr., who has objected to plans for an offshore wind farm in Cape Cod, near the family's summer house.

A common thread ties together the

hell-bent ideologues and others who share such concerns as loss of views, open space or wildlife. Both sides include locals who weren't consulted, and don't like the idea of outsiders, especially faceless companies, profiting from their land.

Mike Tidwell, executive director of the Chesapeake Climate Action Network and a vocal wind power supporter, says these arguments are smokescreens for parochial concerns. Wind farm proposals undergo local review, allowing for community participation that sometimes derails projects.

"Until the anti-wind people are as concerned about mountain-top removal, natural gas pipelines that go up and over mountains, acid rain, code-red smog days and asthma," he says, "they just don't have a lot of credibility."

Whether or not wind opponents act in good faith, their critique is bolstered by corporate decisions that are perceived to place revenue over other values.

### Denmark does it better

Wind power has developed as a vital part of communities elsewhere. The majority of Denmark's wind turbines are community-held cooperatives. Some prohibit anyone who doesn't live around the turbine from buying a share in the cooperative, preventing consolidation under outside ownership. Today, wind generates 18 percent of the country's power and is expected to produce 50 percent by 2030.

But Denmark is much different politically—and smaller geographically—than the United States, where long distances between the best wind-generating areas and big energy consumers hinder wind development. The Dakotas, for instance, have enough wind to generate one-third of the nation's electricity, but lack transmission lines tying them to urban centers.

The problems raised by wind's ownership, both economic and communal, have been labeled "small truths." But if wind is the energy solution, they may become too large to bear. Legitimate or not, wind is being held to a higher standard, and if it appears to behave with the casual disregard of other, more entrenched industries, it may fail to fly. ■

**MISCHA GAUS** is a freelance writer based in Chicago.

# Exiting Iraq

Continued from page 19

become deeply disturbed by the funerals in his district, Jones has decided to co-author with Democrats a bill calling for a 2006 withdrawal timetable.

The left-right alliance demonstrated its potential at least briefly in June, when the library protection amendment to the Patriot Act passed with 38 Republican votes, causing a White House strategist to warn of "crazies on the left and crazies on the right meeting in the middle." The rebellion was quelled, but the restless majority is still there, undermining the pillar of the center.

## Recruitment hits the wall

The previous generation of the antiwar movement forced an end to the draft. That generation has become the parents of today's youth, a fact that deeply upsets a Pentagon trying to erase the "Vietnam syndrome." "The Pentagon is especially vexed by a generation of more activist parents who have no qualms about projecting their own qualms onto their children," reports the *New York Times*.

The recruitment crisis is connected to the morale crisis on the battlefield itself. Six thousand American soldiers are AWOL, including 37 military recruiters.

Bush doesn't have the political capacity to reinstate the draft because that would dramatically broaden the antiwar movement. Nor does he have the political touch to convince hundreds of thousands of military families that their sons and daughters should fight a dubious battle because of a back-door draft. The military itself is his weakest pillar.

## The disappearing coalition

The number of coalition members with actual troops on the ground has declined already from 34 to approximately 20 nations. Even Ukraine, after taking millions from the United States for its recent elections, has begun withdrawing its 150 soldiers. The United States' staunchest allies, the United Kingdom and Italy, are reeling from massive political pressure for troop pullouts. Britain is down from an original 40,000 troop commitment to approximately 8,500 today.

Second to the United States in troop commitments of 138,000 are the 20,000 stateless mercenaries recruited from repressive armies in places like Colombia, El Salvador and South Africa, paid by American tax-

payers but exempt from even the minimum controls applied to national armies.

This pillar of international alliances is nearly gone. By next year, it is likely that the American troops will bear the sole burden of the war, an experience in unilateralism that will only deepen soldiers' questioning.

## Iraq as focal point

One by one, the pillars supporting the War in Iraq are toppling. We have all become prisoners, indefinitely detained by a war that was supposed to be swift and cheap.

This doesn't necessarily mean the war will end. It does mean that the administration, in order to placate voters and buy time in the coming election year, is likely to defuse the rising opposition with partial withdrawals and grudging talks. But the administration's main goal appears to be to reduce the war's presence in our lives, to go "off camera, so to speak," as the neoconservative Robert Kaplan advises. This is the Vietnam strategy that was pursued by the current generation of Republicans in their formative years, when the likes of John Negroponte served under Henry Kissinger. It is pursued today in Afghanistan and Colombia, wars with a minimal number of American casualties that are too expensive—too boring perhaps—for the corporate media to cover.

Iraq is the great exception, the war that can't be switched off the television. It stands to be the illuminating experience for this generation, the classroom in which the lessons of war, empire and the costs at home will be learned or not.

The way is open for the peace movement—and politicians in the Democratic Party if they choose—to offer an exit strategy and an alternative vision of America's needs to a majority of Ameri-

cans. Just as the end of the Vietnam war led the way, at least for a decade, for movements supporting human rights, alternative energy development, and open and democratic government, so we are approaching the time when progressives can offer real alternatives to a new generation of Americans disillusioned by needless deaths in the service of official lies. ■

**TOM HAYDEN** was a leading opponent of the Vietnam War. He was indicted, tried and finally acquitted on charges of conspiracy to riot during the 1968 Democratic Convention. Hayden later served 18 years in the California legislature. He is the author of 12 books and currently teaches at Pitzer College in Los Angeles.

## Are your children REPUBLICAN? GET EVEN.

**Remember In These Times in your will.**

For more information call Tracy Van Slyke at 773-772-0100 x243 or e-mail [tracy@inthesetimes.com](mailto:tracy@inthesetimes.com).

## SevenTen Bishop your time is now



Available October, 2005  
**Quit Me** by  
**Daniel Joshua Nagelberg**  
ISBN # 0-9712132-6-7  
"If this is depression, pour me another,  
if this is life, hand me the bottle"

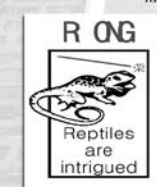
On Sale Now:  
**Say It With Silence** by  
**Zebulun** - ISBN # 0-9712132-0-8  
"Zebulun pulls the reader in with the mystery  
his poems possess and the promise of revealing  
not just themselves to us, but maybe revealing a  
bit of ourselves as well." - Joe Kershbaum, the Bent



Other titles by Daniel Joshua Nagelberg:  
**Man Falling Backwards Down Stairs**  
ISBN # 0-9712132-1-6  
**The Anger Report**  
ISBN # 0-9712132-4-0  
"... a sprawling ganglia of spit-driven, drunk-fisted  
leering reels." - Androo Robinson, Ped Xing



Available September, 2005  
**Cancelled Thoughts** by **861** - cd  
Daniel Joshua Nagelberg's altered-audio-ego has  
created intense ambient soundtracks for very late  
nights that turn into mysterious afternoons.



Available September, 2005  
**Reptiles are Intrigued** by **RONG** - cd  
When friends get together to make music that can only exist  
outside the lines, RONG happens. This is their sixth studio  
recording of outrageously original and philosophically  
challenging material. Admit it, you're curious.

<http://seventenbishop.com>  
because you care



BY BILL STAMETS

## The History of a Bad Idea

David Roediger—author of *The Wages of Whiteness* and *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness*—comes from Rush Limbaugh's neck of the woods in downstate Illinois river country, but looks at his skin color quite differently.

In his 2002 book *Colored White*, the 52-year-old historian from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, notes that he hails from "that part of the Mississippi River which divides Missouri from Illinois ... the lone portion of the Mississippi to divide slavery from freedom."

"Geniuses such as Miles Davis, Chuck Berry, Scott Joplin, Katherine Dunham, Redd Foxx, Tina Turner, Quincy Troupe, Josephine Baker, Maya Angelou, Ntozake Shange and Mark Twain have drawn on experiences along the river to chart, move, explode and ignore the color line," Roediger writes. And then there's Rush Limbaugh from Cape Girardeau: "He is my age and, as I grew up in cities north and south of the Cape, his type was all too familiar to me." When-

ever he heard the radio pundit and television personality lauded as a media "genius," writes Roediger, he recoiled. He says that such praise overlooks "how thoroughly [Limbaugh's] 'genius' rests on an utterly unreflective and banal performance of whiteness."

Transcending the commonplace "it takes one to know one," Roediger has spent his career digging into the history of whiteness as an American cultural and political identity in opposition to blackness. His new book, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White*, unearths loaded phrases—from the 1820s epithet "red niggers" for Native Americans, to Hyde Park's "racial frontier" marked by anti-black redlining in the 1920s—with a deconstructionist agenda.



"Whiteness is, among much else, a bad idea," he writes. Surveying labor history—with scabs branded "white Sambos" and blacks called "smoked Irishmen"—Roediger imagines a post-racial political culture. "The whiteness of white workers, far from being natural and unchangeable, is highly conflicted, burdensome, and even inhuman," he continues. "The idea that it is desirable or unavoidable to be white must be exploded."

*Working Toward Whiteness* asks what happens when we think of assimilation as "whitening as well as Americanizing." Government agencies and labor unions classified certain Americans as "new immigrants" and later as "white ethnics"—always to the detriment of African-Americans, he finds. As a cultural history of slurs, and metaphors, the book reports that advocates of a 10-hour workday in the 1830s called themselves 'white niggers,' though not in solidarity with real slaves." One Congress-

descendants of African slaves.

Roediger ponders the irony that in the 1920s, immigration quotas cut the influx of foreigners, while those already here were united into fronts of homeowners staking out "American" neighborhoods and "Yankeelands." A number of Chicago-based homeowner associations promoted restrictive "covenant agreements." Those who signed these legal promises to not sell residential property to blacks created a "marvelous delicately woven chain of armor," thumped the *Hyde Park Herald*.

Even street gangs of the time reflected the trend to embrace ethnics and banish blacks. During Chicago's 1919 race riot, an Irish gang tried to enlist allies among eastern European immigrants living near the stockyards by scapegoating blacks. Under cover of night, in the early hours of August 2, members of the gang put on blackface and torched houses, leaving 948 Lithuanians and Poles homeless, yet failing to incite anti-black retaliation. Polish and Jewish newspapers took neither side since their readers were not yet lifetime subscribers to whiteness.

Roediger himself was not born with a nuanced understanding of race. Growing up in all-white Columbia, Illinois, he picked up such expressions as "Eeny, meeny, miney, mo/ Catch a nigger by the toe." He never questioned the so-called Sundown law that kept blacks off the streets at night. But Roediger spent summers in his mother's nearby "half-Black" hometown of Cairo, where he went to a black church for the sake of increasing his leisure time: "Its masses were the fastest, like only 25 minutes," he recalls.

"Popular TV gave me a way to talk to my family about race," says Roediger, a fan of "All in the Family." He brought up race with his Aunt Anna Mae, the town phone operator,

when watching "Sanford and Son." She loved those shows but refused to work alongside blacks. Contradictions abounded in Columbia. "We all hated Blacks in the abstract, but our greatest heroes were the Black stars of the great St. Louis Cardinals baseball teams of the sixties," Roediger writes.

He remembers white friends embracing tunes by the Temptations and Jimi Hendrix while accessorizing with Confederate motifs. Rush Limbaugh was then spinning wax at KGMQ in Cape Girardeau as "Rusty Sharpe." "The most racist kids were the most attracted to Motown music—and certainly attracted to Tina Turner, who was living in East St. Louis then," Roediger says.

Radicalized in high school, Roediger graduated from Northern Illinois University in 1975. He continued on to grad school at Northwestern, where he wrote his thesis on the fight for an eight-hour workday. After a year at Yale editing the Frederick Douglass papers, he

returned to Northwestern in 1980 to teach labor history. He picked 'whiteness' as a specialty after Reagan was elected and commentators christened new electorates—the "Reagan Democrats" and "white workers."

"Historically, I wondered what's the root of this idea of thinking of yourself as a 'white worker,'" says Roediger. "The only intellectuals writing books for whom whiteness was a problem were intellectuals of color. Whiteness really wasn't a problem for white people. Most scholars would say 'well, they are white so of course they think they're white workers.'"

That truism might do for Limbaugh's demographic, but not for Roediger's cohort of labor historians. White workers are not born that way. Nor are scholars of whiteness. ■

**BILL STAMETS** contributes to the Chicago Sun-Times and the Chicago Reader, and teaches part-time at the School of the Art Institute and Columbia College.

### Working Toward Whiteness

By David Roediger  
Basic Books  
400 pages, \$26.95

sional immigration hearing in 1912 included testimony calling Italians "full-blooded Caucasians" while the American Federation of Labor called them "white coolies."

"Teaching Americanism, the labor movement also taught whiteness," writes Roediger, who counters that legacy by giving workshops at union summer schools. Historically, gatekeepers expanded the rubric of "white" to include more and more off-the-boat Europeans—"our temporary Negroes" as one social scientist put it in 1937—whose primary qualification was possessing a skin color lighter than America's

## ART SPACE



In August, self-proclaimed "art terrorist" Banksy ([www.banksy.co.uk](http://www.banksy.co.uk)) painted a set of murals on the Palestinian side of the West Bank barrier. Armed only with spray-paint, wallpaper and stencils, the secretive Brit, who depicted satirical images of life on the other side, said, "The wall is illegal under international law and essentially turns Palestine into the world's largest open prison."

BY AARON SARVER

# The Secret History

In the Spring 2004 issue of *Dissent*, Georgetown historian Michael Kazin savaged Howard Zinn's seminal work, *A People's History of the United States*, castigating it, among many other barbs, as a "polemic

disguised as history." One of the few concessions Kazin made was his approval of Zinn punctuating "his narrative with hundreds of quotes from slaves and Populists, anonymous wage-earners and ... articulate radicals."

Whether intended or not, Zinn's latest work (co-edited with Anthony Arnove), *Voices of a People's History of the United States*, serves as a useful response to Kazin's critique. Comprised of more than 200 source documents, *Voices* is a vast anthology that tells heart-breaking and uplifting stories of American history. Kazin will be hard-pressed to charge Zinn with politicizing the intelligence here; the volume offers only Zinn's sparse introductions to each piece, letting the actors and their words speak for themselves.

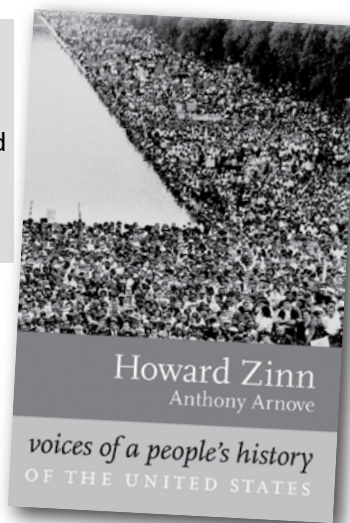
When choosing pieces for the volume, Zinn's intention was to avoid the typical source material for documentary history. "We didn't want presidential speeches, congressional enactments, Supreme Court decisions," he says. True to form, *Voices* focuses on pieces by mostly unknown figures.

The volume is arranged chronologically, and starts with the figure who has probably suffered the biggest fall

**Voices of a  
People's History of the  
United States**  
Edited by Howard Zinn and  
Anthony Arnove  
Seven Stories  
640 Pages, \$18.95

from grace in the minds of the American public: Christopher Columbus. One of the few pieces from a well-known historical figure, "The *Diario* of Christopher Columbus (October 11-15, 1492)" is unlikely to be included in other volumes of American history, because, well, Columbus serves up a pretty unflattering portrait of himself. The rest of the first chapter consists of accounts from the period that paint an even bleaker view of Columbus by Bartolome de Las Casas, a contemporary who traveled with Columbus.

At more than 600 pages, Zinn and Arnove certainly didn't intend for the volume to be consumed in one or two sittings, but "Slavery and Defiance"—with its excruciating first-hand accounts of the peculiarly pernicious institution—is particularly likely to make even the most cynical readers pause to collect themselves. Case in point,



this letter by the fugitive slave Jermain Wesley Loguen to his former master, Sarah Logue: "You say that you have offers to buy me, and that you shall sell me if I do not send you \$1,000, and in the same breath, you say, 'You know we raised you as we did our own children.' Woman, did you raise your own children for the market? Did you raise them for the whipping post?"

But amidst the nightmares from which we are still trying to awake, Zinn and Arnove offer moments of hope and triumph; after all, there have been quite a few successful mass movements in our country's past. The theme that emerges is that of individu-

als struggling against much larger forces, sometimes alone, sometimes as part of larger mass movements, knowing that whether they succeed or not, they have no choice but to fight.

"The things we take for granted now, part of the American way of life, these were revolutionary ideas when we began to demand them in the thirties," writes Rose Chernin in her essay "Organizing the Unemployed in the Bronx in the 1930s." Chernin details the process of organizing rent strikes and the physical confrontations that would take place during evictions. "Sometimes, they'd get so disgusted with all this fighting and hollering they'd take the furniture from the apartment but leave it on the landing. ... Then we'd put the furniture back into the apartment. We'd put a new lock on the door and the landlord would have to get a new eviction notice." As with many struggles of the time, Chernin and other organizers ultimately won.

The volume concludes with "Bush II and the 'War on Terror.'" How textbooks will cover the U.S. response to 9/11 is still undecided. But one doubts that "Democracy Now!" host Amy Goodman's speech "Independent Media in a Time of War" will be on the syllabus. "MSNBC and NBC, as well as Fox, tilting their coverage, taking the name of what the Pentagon calls the invasion of Iraq: 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' ... you have to ask this: If this were state media, how would it be any different?"

With things seemingly getting worse by the day under the Bush administration, *Voices of a People's History* is a welcome reminder that our struggle is larger and longer than one president, or one war, and that speaking out in dissent has a long and glorious history. ■

# Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

**Baltimore, MD**— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years. Yet it has been banned. Blocked. And kept out of your medicine cabinet by the very agency designed to protect your health—the FDA.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York hospital rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that “**shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!**” 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles, but the FDA ignored the research and hope he brought and shut him down.

You read that right. He was not only shut down—but also forced out of the country where others benefited from his discovery. That was 38 years ago. How many other treatments have they been allowed to hide? Just as in the case of Dr. Burton's miracle serum these too go unmentioned.

## Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough...

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! “Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated.” Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don't want you to read her words.

What's more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable

natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

As early as 1947, Virginia Livingston, M.D., isolated a cancer-causing microbe. She noted that every cancer sample analyzed (whether human or other animal) contained it.

This microbe—a bacteria that is actually in each of us from birth to death—multiplies and promotes cancer when the immune system is weakened by disease, stress, or poor nutrition. Worst of all, the microbes secrete a special hormone protector that short-circuits our body's immune system—allowing the microbes to grow undetected for years. No wonder so many patients are riddled with cancer by the time it is detected. But there is hope even for them...

Turn to page 82 of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* for the delicious diet that can help stop the formation of cancer cells and shrink tumors.

**They walked away from traditional cancer treatments...and were healed!** Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* you'll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

“We purchased *How to Fight Cancer & Win*, and immediately my husband started following the recommended diet for his just diagnosed colon cancer. He refused the surgery that our doctors advised. Since following the regime recommended in the book he has had no problems at all, cancer-wise. If not cured, we believe the cancer has to be in remission.”

—Thelma B.

“I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I've ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today.”

—Hugh M.

“I can't find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to sur-

gically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two.”

—Duncan M.

“In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more ‘down to earth,’ practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure.”

—Edward S., M.D.

“As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery.”

—Romany S.

“I've been incorporating Dr. Budwig's natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I've never heard about before (and I've read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information.”

—Molly G.

Don't waste another minute. There are only a limited number of books in stock—and unless order volume is extraordinarily high we may not be able to print more life-saving copies. Claim your book today and you will be one of the lucky few who no longer have to wait for cures that get pushed “underground” by big business and money hungry giants.

To get your copy of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* call **1-888-821-3609** and ask for code **P6F5H** to order by credit card or order online at [www.agorahealthbooks.com/times](http://www.agorahealthbooks.com/times). Or write “Fight Cancer—Dept. P6F5H” on a plain piece of paper with your name, address, phone number (in case we have a question about your order) and mail it with a check for \$19.95 plus \$5.00 shipping to:

Agora Health Books  
Dept. P6F5H  
P.O. Box 925  
Frederick, MD 21705-9838

If you are not completely satisfied, return the book within one year for a complete and total refund—no questions asked. This will probably be the most important information you and your loved ones receive—so order today!

**ID# P6F5H**

©2005 Agora Health Books, LLC





# Coming Out

Continued from back page

ways by McKenna's book.

In his carefully documented work, McKenna demonstrates beyond doubt that the truth is quite different. By the time he married in 1884, Wilde had already lived for several years with a male lover he'd met in 1876—the society portrait painter Frank Miles. A handsome man two years older, Miles in turn would introduce Wilde to the sculptor Lord Ronald Gower, “a notorious sodomite, with a penchant for ‘rough trade,’” on whom Wilde “would base the character of Lord Henry Wotton, the corrupting prophet of strange sins” in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

Wilde later recounted the day of what he called his “sexual awakening” to his friend and confidant Frank Harris (1856-1931). A writer, editor, journalist and womanizer, Harris authored *My Life and Loves*, a monumental autobiographical portrayal of the underside of Victorian sexuality that created a scandal in both Europe and America when published in the '20s.

On the day 16-year-old Wilde left Portora Royal School, where he'd been a student, a boy a year younger than he—with whom he'd had a strong “sentimental friendship”—came to the train station to bid him farewell.



Oscar and Bosie, 1893

In McKenna's re-telling, as the Dublin train was about to depart, the boy turned and cried out, “Oh, Oscar!” “Before I knew what he was doing he had caught my face in his hands, and kissed me on the lips. The next moment ... he was gone.” Wilde felt “cold sticky drops” trickling down his face—they were the boy's tears. “This is love,” he said to himself, trembling slightly. “For a long while I sat, unable to think, all shaken with wonder and remorse,” Wilde told Harris. That sense of “wonder and remorse” followed Wilde to Oxford, where he began his affair with Miles and, as a scholar of classical Greek, first began to write admiringly of “Greek love,” the passion of an older man for a younger.

By the late 1870s, Wilde was already preoccupied with the philosophy of same-sex love. He befriended and frequented the poet and writer John Addington Symonds, who helped found several “Walt Whitman Societies” in the north of England—the first recorded English groups of gay men founded explicitly to discuss same-sex love—and who wrote the pro-homosexual “A Problem in Greek Ethics,” published in 1883. He began a cautious friendship with the homosexual essayist and critic

Walter Pater—the central figure of the Pre-Raphaelites, who had written in coded language of the love of boys—but found him “too hesitant, too secretive about his sexual tastes.”

During this period Wilde also became familiar with the writings of the gay liberationist pioneer, the German lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895). From the 1860s on, Ulrichs published dozens of books and pamphlets proclaiming that homosexuality—which, invoking Plato's *Symposium*, he baptized “Uranian love” (from the Greek *urianos*, or “heavenly love”)—was normal and natural, and arguing that Uranians should have full social and legal equality with heterosexuals, including the right to marry. Wilde embraced both Ulrichs' philosophy and his

Uranian language. He and his friends began to refer in their letters to the campaign for legalization of homosexuality as “the Cause,” joining a secret Uranian organization, the Order of Chaeronea, to fight for it. McKenna demonstrates that “the very title

of *The Importance of Being Earnest* is a Uranian pun. ... Among less literary Uranians, ‘earnest’—a corruption of the French *uraniste*—enjoyed a short vogue as a coded signifier of Uranian inclinations”—as in “is he earnest?” to mean “is he gay?”

When Wilde sailed for America on Christmas Eve, 1881, one of his most important priorities was a meeting with Walt Whitman. Wilde's friend Symonds had engaged in a long correspondence with Whitman, trying to draw out an explicit declaration of his sexual tastes, so ill-concealed in Whitman's strongly and beautifully homosensual poems about passionate male bonding. Whitman had remained evasive. But after his meeting with Whitman (then in his 60s, with a flowing, white beard), Wilde wrote that there was “no doubt” about the great American poet's sexual orientation—“I have the kiss of Walt Whitman still on my lips,” he boasted.

In 1889—six years before the trial that sent him to Reading Gaol—Wilde startled the literary world with *The Portrait of Mr. W.H.* This *roman à clef* drew its title from the “W.H.” to whom Shakespeare dedicated a sequence of 154 sonnets. Adopting as his own the well-known theory that “W.H.” referred to the 17-year-old Elizabethan actor Willie Hughes, McKenna writes, Wilde made his novel's “real hero...the spiritual and sexual love that men have for younger men...[It was] a manifesto...closely argued to give cultural and historical legitimacy to sex between men and youths...Just as Shakespeare had one great life-affirming, life-changing, immortal love affair with a beautiful boy, so [Wilde's searching] for an ennobling love, for an inspiring love, for a love that could transcend the mundane and enter the sphere of immortality, began at about the time he was writing *The Portrait of Mr. W. H.*”

That love, of course, was to be Lord Alfred Douglas—Wilde's “Bosie.” But Bosie was not the only homosexual son of the

## The Secret Life of Oscar Wilde

By Neil McKenna

Basic Books  
539 Pages \$29.95

half-mad, anti-Semitic, alcoholic Marquis of Queensberry. Bosie's beloved older brother, Francis, Viscount Drumlanrig, was also a Uranian. What's more, in 1892, not long after Bosie's love affair with Wilde had begun, Drumlanrig had become the lover of Lord Rosebery, the Liberal Party politician who had been Prime Minister Gladstone's foreign secretary before becoming prime minister himself in 1894.

Rosebery had arranged for his lover Drumlanrig to be given a peerage in 1893, so that he could sit in the House of Lords and assume a junior ministerial role. But the Marquis of Queensberry—whose right to sit in the Lords had been lost (and thus, his political career thwarted) when, as a Scots Peer, he'd refused to swear the oath of allegiance to Queen Victoria—took the gift of a peerage to his older son as a deliberate insult. He developed a white-hot anger at Rosebery and the Liberal Party elite. This anger became uncontrollable rage when Drumlanrig committed suicide the year before Wilde's trials to save his lover Lord Rosebery from exposure.

It's well known that Wilde—under pressure from his beloved Bosie—decided to sue Bosie's father for libel for having called him a "sodomite." But what has never been so tellingly and completely detailed until this book is how Queensberry pressured Rosebery's liberal government into subsequently prosecuting Wilde criminally—through blackmail. McKenna's chapters dealing with Queensberry's blackmail of the government read like a detective story. He details how the government's relentless prosecution of Wilde, which included the bribing of witnesses—all designed to "bring to an abrupt halt what many saw as the creeping contagion of his gospel of unnatural love"—was "driven entirely" by the fear that Queensberry would make public the secret homosexuality of Prime Minister Rosebery, and of other members of the Liberal Party leadership and the Royal Family.

McKenna does a fine job of portraying the class elements of Wilde's persecution. Since the Victorians believed there was no such thing as working-class homosexuality, but that the lower classes were "corrupted"

by decadent members of the elite, Wilde's flings with a raft of boys not of his own class were considered doubly scandalous. But if there is one criticism to be made of this book, it is that it makes short shrift of Wilde's politics. "I think I am rather more than a Socialist. I am something of an Anarchist, I believe," Wilde said, and his portrayal of the poverty produced by industrial society in his book, *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, is still touching today. But his non-gay political activism—for example, Wilde signed a petition for the release of the Haymarket martyrs, the anarchist American trade unionists executed for their role in the 8-hour day movement—goes unmentioned in this book.

Despite that caveat, *The Secret Life of Oscar Wilde* must now rank as a crucial, hitherto missing, but terribly vital piece of both gay and literary history—and it is beautifully written to boot. It is both a major achievement and a wonderful read. ■

**DOUG IRELAND**, an In These Times contributing editor, can be reached through his blog, *DIRELAND*, at: <http://direland.typepad.com/direland/>



## Fight for Justice with an Exciting, New, Progressive Union

The National Nurses Organizing Committee/California Nurses Association seek an experienced Labor Representative to bring union protection to Chicago area RNs.

Outstanding benefits and excellent salary dependent on experience. Email letter and resume to: [execoffice@calnurses.org](mailto:execoffice@calnurses.org).

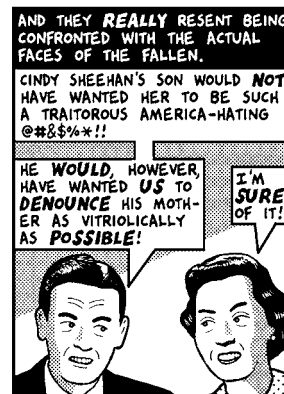
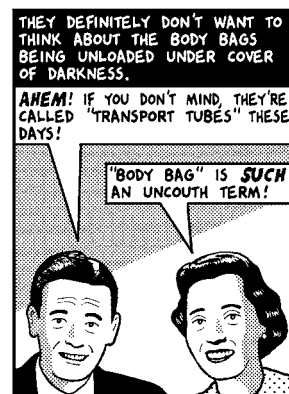
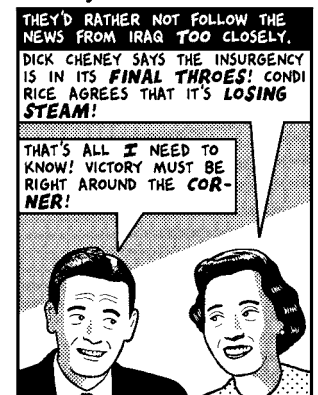
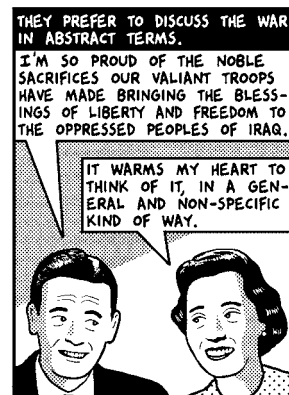
Other unique positions available nationwide. For more info, please visit our websites: [www.calnurses.org](http://www.calnurses.org) / [www.nnoc.net](http://www.nnoc.net)



A VOICE FOR NURSES ~ A VISION FOR HEALTHCARE

## THIS MODERN WORLD

by TOM TOMORROW





# Wilde's Second Coming Out

BY DOUG IRELAND

When first published in England two years ago, Neil McKenna's *The Secret Life of Oscar Wilde* won universal critical acclaim. The praise was more than deserved, for this stunning piece of investigative historiography reveals for the very first time how Wilde was a militant precursor of the modern gay liberation movement long before his famous speech from the dock in defense of "the love that dare not speak its name."

**M**AKING USE OF HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED AND UNCONSULTED DOCUMENTS, diaries and letters, this extraordinary book—just published in the United States—also gives a new and revealing portrait of Wilde's sexuality that supercedes all previous Wilde biographies. Moreover, McKenna's book gives us, at long last, a definitive account of the political cover-up of the homosexual scandals within England's ruling and royal elites that motored Wilde's prosecution and trial.

The commonly accepted view is that Wilde discovered his homosexuality after he had already been married and produced children, when he was seduced by his young friend Robbie Ross. It is this version popularized in Brian Gilbert's sympathetic 1997 film, the Oscar-nominated *Wilde* (starring the openly gay British actor Stephen Fry, in a subtle portrayal, as Wilde). The film was based on Richard Ellmann's admiring, Pulitzer Prize-winning biography—valuable, but now made outdated in many

continued on page 39



Cruel parodies of Wilde, like this 1882 one in *Society* magazine, hinted at his homosexuality long before his marriage.